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No. 31. Vol. VIII.

July, 1905.

THE SYSTEM OF NATIONAL EDUCATION IN POLAND.

By KAZIMIERZ LUTOSLAWSKI.

HE Series of "Special Reports on Educational Subjects" gives the English Democracy knowledge of different educational systems; it shows examples to be followed, or to be avoided, in the reform work of English Education. There are excellent descriptions of what has been done by the Germans, the French, the Swiss, the Swedes, and the Americans, and so forth, in the field of Education, but there is no mention of Poland. The "Report on Technical Education in Poland" describes German and Russian schools in different parts of Poland; but even the schools under Polish administration in Galicia are little else than German schools conducted in the Polish language by Polish people: the methods are German. The reason for this is simply that there are no Polish schools now anywhere, the whole of the Polish nation in German, Russian, and Austrian Poland alike, being instructed according to German methods in the German, Russian or even Polish languages.

Nevertheless, there is a Polish method of Education, and a very instructive one. It is not used nowadays, but it was used in the

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Republic of Poland, and let us hope it will shortly be applied again in Galicia at least. To sketch this method is my task. It may be perhaps considered as only an example taken from past history, but there are exceptional reasons for associating it with the living examples given in the series of Special Reports. The educational spirit of Poland was and is very distinct, very characteristic and interesting. It was active some 120 years ago, but it still lives in the mind of the Polish nation, and can thus be considered to be quite modern, because much in advance of its time. Thus, the problem of teaching Hygiene in schools (mentioned by Lord Londonderry some months ago as yet unripe for solution) was solved by the Polish Education Department 120 years ago. The experience of mankind on Education is shewn largely in the different national systems adopted. Even the Greek and Roman systems have contributed some important elements to our modern schools, to be found in some instances in Germany or France. It is the Polish system alone which remains unknown and unapplied by the civilised world, though it deserves special attention. The Greek and Roman national spirits have been severally incorporated in the systems springing from them as so much dead material, but no living national spirit such as the Polish can be incorporated in any social body except its own. The reasons for this are partly political, but they are partly due to the difficulty and limited spread of the Polish language. The different methods of solving educational subjects peculiar to each nation we can understand by studying existing Schools. All such national systems we can study, but not the Polish system, for it has no present existence, not because it does not deserve it, but because the entire Polish national spirit is deprived of the only field suitable for the expression of its social ideals and of its social organisations. These exceptional conditions force us to the exceptional course of studying this one system historically instead of contemporaneously in actual working, in order to complete the list of studies already published of the actual present day work of mankind in Education.

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The system, which it is my privilege to describe, was established by a special Government Department of the Republic of Poland, elected by the Diet in Committee in 1773 to form a Commission or Board of National Education.* The most eminent members and officials of it were: Joachim Chreptowicz, Ignacy Potocki, Andrzej Zamoyski, Adam Czartoryski, Hugo Kollataj, Grzegorz Piramowicz. They were all well acquainted with modern science and culture, and especially with the work of the French Encyclopædists and pseudo-classics, and Rousseau undoubtedly had a certain influence on their educational ideals; but they perfectly understood the differences between France and Poland, and therefore they started an eminently national system.

In a pamphlet, published 1785, which had a considerable influence on the work of the Commission, a well-known reform leader, Stanislaw Staszic,† explains the principles of the system.

"Any education," he says, "must be in accordance with the constitution of the Fatherland; people ought to be educated for that community in which they will have to live and to work. It is a specific quality of men a country wants for its development, and for specified social work; it is the task of schools to supply such men, and not others. Hence any system of public instruction must be under the care of the Government."

The Commission was created to be the special organ of the National Government for supplying the men that the Government wanted for the reform of the country and the nation. The type of man aimed at was supposed to be the "citizen-knight," a term introduced by Staszic, which means a man of the strongest character, of the highest devotion to the common welfare of his nation, prepared to support the law of his country and the ideals of justice and faith, a man trained in service for organised activity, a man of freedom in thought and obedience in deed. This ideal

* It may be of some interest to know that this Commission was the first Ministry of Education made in Europe.

† St. Staszic: *Uwagi nad zyciem Jana Zamoyskiego*, 1785; re-published in Cracow 1861.

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of a man is a Polish one and is now the common ideal of the Polish youth.* The public schools governed by the Commission of National Education had to educate in this direction.

The first task of the new Department was to bring order into the field of education in general and to organize the training of teachers who would be able to work out the general scheme and to put its excellent theories into practice. The Statute which created the Commission gave it the management of more than half the Secondary Schools in the country, for the whole property of the Jesuits, who were abolished by the Pope in 1773, was simultaneously conferred on the Commission, and the Jesuits were at that time the chief educational order in Poland. The Commission secured at once jurisdiction over all their own Schools, but they got also the right of supervision of all Schools throughout the country, and even of private education.

The training of teachers for Secondary Schools, as introduced by the Commission, was very thorough. Candidates had to be proposed by the head masters of their respective Secondary Schools. They had to be chosen among the abler boys only. They had to pass one year's trial at one of the universities of the country (Cracow and Wilno), and, if successful, remained there for a course of study of three years. The trial-year was open to any boy of eighteen years of age recommended by his head master. The first six years of tutorial practice after the close of the university course had to be spent in a school under the Commission, without salary, as a reward for the free education supplied; such junior-tutors were subject to the direction of the head master, and only in the seventh year of this training did they become independent and get a salary for their services. All secondary teachers were organised to form a kind of Order, called the "Academic Order" ("Stan Akademicki"). This organisation extended all over the country; everyone was subject to a higher

* See the pamphlet of Balicki—*Egoizm narodowy* (National Egoism)—Lwow 1903; the works of Saczebanowski, etc.

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and so more experienced colleague : the teachers of a school to its pro-rector, the pro-rectors of a district to the rector of the district school, the rectors of one of the two provinces to their respective university-senate. The advice of the senate, the rectors and pro-rectors, was based on very detailed reports sent in by each member of the profession to his superiors. These reports are published now by Mr. Wierzbowski in Warsaw, and are full of most interesting psychological and pædagogical observations. The higher members of the professional organisation had to report not only on their own work, but also on the conduct of colleagues entrusted to their care. The teachers of one school formed a community, and constituted not only the governing body of the school, but also a kind of moral and scientific society. They had to live a common life, and the chief feature of every community of teachers and of the whole order was a spirit of public service and devotion. The excellent statutes of the Commission* lay great stress upon this moral influence of the teachers' community.

The Primary Schools were at that time mostly private schools of the greater landlords. The Commission gave them every assistance, issued instructions for their management, and made provision for the erection of special training colleges for primary teachers.

The next thing was to organise the instruction and to compile model curricula. The careful selection of men was a guarantee that the pupils would be educatively guided and trained. For their instruction scientific advice was needed. The classical definition of the aim of education, given by Piramowicz,† was: to make the man happy, useful to others and able to perform the duties of citizenship; so the definition of the aim of books and instruction was: to be of practical service to the life of the community. As such the Commission dealt with religion and morals,

* Ustawy Komisji Edukacji Narodowej na szkoły wydzielowe i podwydzielowe w Koronie i Litwie przepisane, 1783; re-published by Mr. Wierzbowski in Warsaw, 1900. (Statutes and Regulations for Secondary Schools.)

† Piramowicz—Speeches (Mowy, 1776-1787), re-published in Cracow, 1889.

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knowledge of the Fatherland, national legislation, and "the sciences most useful to the community"—rather a striking order of subjects, if compared with modern curricula!

The regulations of the Commission prescribe that the teacher, when starting with a new subject, is to explain to the scholars its applications and use in practical life; and that this explanation is to be repeated when he closes the course in any subject. General principles as to the method of teaching are laid down in the regulations. Concrete, simple, easy and tangible things are to precede all complicated, abstract, difficult and general facts, conclusions and considerations. Chief stress is to be laid on the thorough understanding by the boys of what they learn, rather than on the learning by heart. The teacher has to train the scholars in independent thinking and arguing, in observing and considering facts. Therefore, the scholars have to write essays on all subjects they learn, not merely for style and language practice, but for the better understanding of all sciences. They have to write them in their leisure time. All dry, indifferent, and too complicated subjects are to be avoided as themes.

The Commission was not able at once to abandon the Latin language, then in common use in Poland, but it tried to render its knowledge more useful by extending the Latin reading of the scholars not merely to literature and art, and to word-knowledge, but by prescribing special extracts from Latin authors grouped for different sciences: when learning history, morals, natural science, horticulture, hygiene, passages of Latin authors were read illustrating the ancient views on the respective points.

The curriculum was divided into six stages: in each of the first two the pupils (normally boys of 10 and 11 to 12 years) were taught by one teacher, who taught Polish grammar, arithmetic, morals, first notions of geography and natural science. It was thought better to entrust the younger sets exclusively to one tutor rather than to expose them to the different personal influences of several teachers. The next stages, of which the fifth was a two-

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years' stage, were taught during five years by four different teachers in special subjects: the teacher of rhetoric, of mathematics, of physics, and of morals and law. Their curricula were: for the teacher of rhetoric: Polish grammar compared with Latin grammar, the Latin language, theory of rhetoric and poetry; for the teacher of mathematics: arithmetic, geometry combined with geodesy, algebra, logic; for the teacher of physics: practical knowledge of natural science, *viz.*: natural science of horticulture and agriculture; physics, mineralogy, botany, hygiene and a special and very characteristic subject: "the history of art and handicrafts;" lastly, for the teacher of morals and law: ancient history, national history and geography, general principles of law and morals, and the national legislation.

The methodical principles laid down for each subject of the curriculum form the most interesting part of the statutes. Geometry was to be taught chiefly as geodesical practice, practice of measurement, of the use of instruments, and of the sketching of maps and plans. Logic was to be systematically applied to practical questions of everyday life and of morals. Natural history was to start with the better-known subjects, as horticulture and agriculture, and the resulting doctrines were to be applied again to these practical sciences. Hygiene was to be taught as an explanation of the régime of the school, and of the physical training of the boys. A special chapter of the statutes is devoted to this matter. The Commission requires the parents of the young generation to be very careful with the health of the children in their early days, as mistakes made at that time remain often irreparable. They explain that the health of the children is the basis of the health of the citizens, and of the strength of the nation as a whole. The regulations for the maintenance of the health of the scholars are quite modern in their principles: every day a special time must be set apart in every school curriculum for games and the physical training of the boys; they have to play in the open air. The mental work has to be restricted

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to twenty hours a week ; two free afternoons every week have to be set apart for games and fresh air parties. Military and social games of every description are specially recommended, as they play an important part in the moral education of the children. "Every citizen of every country is born to defend his country, but especially a citizen of a Republic is its born-soldier and defender." Military games, if carefully watched and directed by the teachers, will show clearly the differences between real courage and bravery, uprightness of mind, and strength of soul and body—and arrogance, pride, and idleness. Courage and character have to be praised and recompensed in contrast to cowardice and timidity.

"The history of art and handicrafts" was a kind of object lesson of a higher type—a lesson of practical life-knowledge. It was included in the curriculum of the highest stage and had to fit the boys about to leave school with practical knowledge of the general principles of the home-market, with notions about prices of different things, about the value of things in common use, their usual adulterations, etc.

In teaching physics as well as morals, teachers are recommended to avoid any complicated speculations, and to give only simple trustworthy facts and principles which can be of use in real life. Simplicity and order have to be the chief features of both subjects as taught in Secondary Schools. Subtle investigations of dogmatic questions are of no use for faith and practical morals, and the best basis for moral teaching is the moral example, the true piety of the teachers, not bigotry, which is an obstacle to the performance of social and Christian duties.

Moral science has to be taught in close connection with the laws of the Republic, which is a practical application of morals, and with history, which, if well understood, is a proof of the truth of our moral principles. Practical conclusions for everyday life and severe criticism of history are to be connected with the moral teaching. When teaching history, the teacher has carefully to avoid any misrepresentation of facts, as our understanding of historical

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facts is the true foundation of our political and moral opinions. Therefore, say the statutes, the teacher has to criticise even deeds wrongly considered to be brilliant and glorious; actions contrary to justice, humanity, and honesty are to be freely denounced. "The teacher shall never give the name of Statesmanship, which should mean 'ability to govern,' nor of Heroism to anything characterised by craft, treason, vice, violence, outrage, invasion or misappropriation of anyone's property." General moral maxims are to be well understood by the boys, such as: "no community can exist without laws and government;" "the welfare of a nation depends on the justice of its laws;" "every citizen owes obedience to his government, and the government to the laws;" "every country must be secured against any hostile attempt of foreign powers;" "for the sake of its own happiness every nation must have reasonable aspirations."

The same principles have to be applied in the education of girls and in the curricula of Primary Schools. No brilliant superficial knowledge is necessary for girls; they have to acquire necessary knowledge in writing and reading, arithmetic, needlework, morals and history, especially national history, and they ought to be prepared for their future duties. Reading of idle books is of no use and ought to be avoided.

The model curriculum of Primary Schools comprises: Christian morals, reading, writing, arithmetic, elementary measurement and the measures, weights and coins in common use, practical horticulture and agriculture, the geography of the parish and district, hygiene and elementary knowledge of the diseases of domestic animals, practical knowledge of the commerce of the district, and of the proper use of such things as are commonly wasted in towns and in villages, *e.g.*, rags, cinders, etc. At the end of the moral science course general knowledge should be given of the laws of the Republic which regulate the actual duties of government and citizens. General and free education for all children from 8 to 10 and even to 12 years was suggested by the Commission.

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To meet the absolute lack of books adequate to the new programmes the Commission nominated a learned body of well-known pædagogues, called the "Elementary Books Society," to whom they entrusted the providing of the necessary books. They issued an international appeal* to all scientific men to compete in this task. Prizes were offered for the best books. In this appeal the Society laid down the general features of the books required. Detailed schemes of the works intended were to be presented by the competitors for the approval of the Society. Approved schemes were returned to the authors or entrusted to other people for elaboration. The books, when ready, were then discussed by the Society, translated if necessary, and, if accepted, were approved by the Commission of National Education itself as prescribed School Books. Many Polish and foreign scientists took part in this learned competition, and in the course of ten years the Society published, with the approval of the Commission, the following books, some of them in many and corrected editions: *Elementarium* (first reading and writing book), by Kopczynski; *Moral Science*, by Poplawski; *History of the East and of Greece*, by the brothers Skrzetuscy; *Polish-Latin Grammar*, by Kopczynski; *Extracts from Classic Authors* (Latin reading books), referring to the different sciences; *Latin Dictionary*, by Kozminski; *Dictionary of Antiquities*, by Piramowicz; *Rhetoric and Poetry*, by Piramowicz; *Arithmetic, Geometry and Algebra*, by Lhuillier (in Polish translation); *Zoology and Botany*, by Kluk; *Introduction to Physics and Mechanics*, by Hube (in Polish translation); *A Manual of Hygiene*; lastly, the Commission approved of the *Logic* written for them by Condillac (and translated into Polish), which, however, was published only in 1808.

Many other books were in course of preparation when the activity of the Commission was suspended by the dismemberment of the country. Many schemes had been disapproved; and some books were published which had not obtained the approval of the

* Published in Polish and Latin in Warsaw, 1776.

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Commission. These, however, were good, though not quite in accord with the general programme. The competition proved very useful and successful. All the books of the Commission are excellent from the systematic and methodological point of view. This attempt to create the necessary books, instead of waiting for private enterprise to do so, and meanwhile using books of minor quality, is a very remarkable fact.

If we now summarise the leading features of the Polish system of Education we can do it very briefly. The aim of the moral education was to create by means of the schools strong characters in healthy bodies. The aim of the instruction was to equip the pupils with useful practical knowledge, aiming not at a very high scientific standard, but at a rational standard of common sense. The tendency of the Commission was to enforce this system throughout the country, to support exclusively schools working in that direction, and to secure a distinct influence on the formation of all future generations of the nation. The system in itself laid stress on the national character of education as well as of instruction, and on the devotion of the pupils to the community.

The political fate of Poland brought the work of the Commission to a premature end after only 20 years of continuous efforts to complete the reform. Nevertheless, a careful study of the history of Poland at the end of the XVIIIth and during the first 30 years of the XIXth Centuries shows quite clearly the immense value of the Commission's work in producing the following fruits: devotion to the Polish nation; high military virtues in Napoleon's army and afterwards in the Polish Army of 1830-31; sound social work in the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw and in the Kingdom of Poland after 1815; and scientific and literary production of the highest order. Every earnest student of the matter must agree that the system, though of such short duration, proved very successful in the life of the three succeeding generations. Its principles are so sound, so clear and firm, that they can even now form the basis for many useful reforms in the educational systems of the world.

LANDOWNING IN THREE ISLANDS.

By the HON. ROLLO RUSSELL.



ENGLAND, Scotland, and Ireland have suffered for centuries under a system of landownership which has done more than anything else for the degradation of the peasantry, the suppression of a healthy independent life in the majority of the people.

The consequences are now reaching their climax in the artificial growth of large towns, which destroy the British race, and in the desolation of the country, reserved for rich game preservers, native or foreign, as a holiday luxury. The people are, as a matter of fact, being killed off for sport and pride.

The several Land Acts passed for Ireland in response to vigorous agitation in that country have come too late to serve the greater and stronger part of the nation, which has fled to America, but they will, if well carried out, produce a measure of happiness in the remaining peasantry who will show what a loyal and contented people they naturally are, if only governed with justice.

In England and Scotland there is scarcely a mitigating influence against the fatal, the murderously cruel system of large estates, which, where it prevails, allows no Englishman and no Scotchman a freeman's life on his native soil.

There are many good landlords, with model estates and well-built cottages, but very few who consider themselves as trustees for the strong development of a free peasantry, with multiplied holdings, and sure dwelling-places. In all counties the system has caused cottages to be pulled down where they do not pay, and small farms to be thrown into large ones, and labourers to be made scarce, where game is plentiful.

The effect of laws in destroying or creating a peasantry may be well illustrated by taking the case of certain islands lying off

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Scotland, England, and France, respectively, all under the British crown.

The Hebrides in particular showed the English-Scotch land system at its worst, but that system has just failed in having the worst effect, seen in some Scotch counties, namely, entire depopulation.

The terrible wrongs suffered by the crofters of the Hebrides turned the attention of Parliament to their misery and destitution, and the Crofter Commission has saved them from the fate of multitudes of the Scotch people who suffered and died in silent submission to their traitorous chiefs.

In the island of Lewis thousands were evicted from their homes, and most of those who remained were driven to little patches of bog and barren moor, while the country which their forefathers had made fertile by their labour was given over to sheep. Now even these little patches, where they had been turned into cultivated plots, and so worth taking, were made over to the landlord, while the people were expelled to barren strips of sea-coast. The heath was set on fire, also the houses, barns, mills, and sheds built by the tenants or their fathers, the cattle were starved, and many of the people died of cold and hardships. In South Uist, not only were trout and game forbidden to the people but even the sea-weed thrown up by the sea could only be gathered by leave of the agent, and was then grabbed by starlight "with the hideous intensity of starvation."

In Tiree and Eriskay a similar process, sanctioned by the majesty of the law, took effect: hard work for life, eviction, redemption of fresh and worse ground, eviction again. What theft, and what murder, can be compared with these legalities?

No wonder the people who remain in the Hebrides "have largely lost the ease of manner and frankness characteristic of these islands. They seem to have acquired some of the qualities of those who are crushed body and soul." The same thing, in a less acute but very chronic form, may be seen in Sussex: landlord and agent

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crush out the native mind and worth. These crushed islanders had been, as landlords joined in reporting, "a nursery of good workers, and good citizens for the whole Empire." Apply the British land system, and the "nursery" is burnt down.

Under fair tenure for long terms, or under a state system like that which has brought contentment to the poorest districts of Ireland, the people of Lewis, however poor, would flourish in security. They are even now reviving under a more kindly administration.

The crofter, or semi-independent Scotch peasant, though tolerated in only a few places, is a strong element in the nation, enjoying, as Lord Napier declares, "an uncommon share of vigour and longevity." Next let me turn to a southern island with a better climate, gentler landlords, and an excellent market. The Isle of Wight is well fitted by nature for the maintenance of a numerous and happy community, living on and by the land, cultivating in small farms or gardens plenty of produce for their own consumption and for neighbouring towns. But it has the British semi-feudal system for its curse, and as a matter of course we find no peasant-proprietary, hardly any small holders, no general well-being on the land, few productive gardens, orchards or small farms. The land looks desolate, few farms and few cottages are to be seen. Wide open spaces of field and down testify to the expulsion of the people by the large estate and large farm. The value of land, considering the position and climate, is very low, and the rents for large farms do not approach the sum which would be received from small farms under something like the French system, with long leases instead of ownership. Several health-resorts round the coast, and the towns a few miles off across the Solent would easily maintain a population of market-gardeners. But the fatal system drives the trade to France, Holland, Denmark, and even further. There is no independence in the Isle of Wight.

Thirdly, without leaving British territory, but leaving British landlordism, let us cross to the island of Jersey, or, if preferred,

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Guernsey. Here the climate is slightly, but only slightly, better than that of the Isle of Wight or the coast of Devon and Dorset. The soil was poor, but has been enriched by the system of small proprietorship. The British land laws here do not exist, and their blight has no operation. The system closely resembles that which maintains the French peasantry in the country. The land consequently is ten times more valuable than on the British mainland, and can be let at ten times the rent, where let at all. There is a fine independence, thriftiness, and vigour in the people, which is most refreshing after experience of the timidity of Sussex and Kentish labourers. They are, each family, small landowners, and work the land themselves in perfect security, knowing that work and value put into the land remain their own in perpetuity. Holdings generally are from four to ten acres. No wonder that loyalty and contentment are pre-eminent in these islands.

The British race is rapidly declining. If we desire to preserve an Empire, not only of territory, but of sturdy, capable men and women, our first object must be the restoration of the people to the land under fair conditions, with easy, fixed, and secure tenure.

IN MEMORIAM: FRANKLIN T. RICHARDS.

By J. S. COTTON.

[The following address was delivered at the funeral of Mr. Franklin Richards on 17th April last. We believe our readers will be glad to have from the pen of his oldest surviving friend this tribute to one whose personality was in part revealed to them through the scholarly and valuable articles he contributed to *Saint George*. Franklin Richards lived the quiet life of a scholar. He was little known in the market place. But no one who knew him could fail to be impressed by the great nobility of his character; his unbounded tolerance, his heroism under suffering, his large-hearted sympathy to all who approached him. He had a genius for friendship, remarkable and rare; and the writer of these words recalls with gratitude deeper than he can here express, its exercise towards himself during days of calm and days of stress. The writer is only one of many men who would desire to place on record their indebtedness for the inspiration of his life; for the wise counsel of his richly stored and beautiful mind; for his friendship that never failed.—General Editor, *Saint George*.]



FRANKLIN Thomas Richards was born at Kensington, on 18th March, 1847, being the eldest son of Thomas Richards, well-known as a London printer, and as the friend of many literary men for whom he printed. His mother was a sister of Canon J. R. T. Eaton, who was at one time Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy at Oxford. There were two other sons, each of whom (like himself) gained two first classes in classics, which forms, I believe, a unique record. He was educated at King's College School, then in the Strand, under the headmastership of the Rev. Dr. G. F. Maclear. In after life he used to say that he had not been well taught. Certainly he did not bring with him to the University the

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standard of classical scholarship which is frequently shown by boys from the larger public schools; but it is probable that nothing was lost by late maturity. After one or two disappointments, he was elected to an open scholarship at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1866, and came into residence in the October term.

From his freshman's year, when I first knew him, his character was already such as it remained to the end. Devotion to work, simplicity of life, and sympathy with friends of differing tastes were even then its dominant notes. Though he belonged to one or two literary societies, where we used to read juvenile essays to one another, I do not remember that he ever spoke at the Union. It was in long Sunday walks, rather than at social gatherings, that his early friendships were formed. As was natural, many of these were within his own college, where Professor Sayce, Dr. H. B. Donkin, C. W. A. Tait, H. C. Irwin, and the Rev. Dr. Redpath sat with him at the scholars' table; while among the commoners C. D. Haigh and Henry Wimble may specially be mentioned. Of outside friends, I think the most intimate were E. W. B. Nicholson of Trinity, F. Y. Edgeworth of Balliol, J. W. Browne and A. C. Hamilton of University, J. Rhys of Jesus, S. Dill of Lincoln, and, somewhat later, Grant Allen of Merton. I dwell on these names, because they indicate an important feature of Oxford life in those days. There was then no predominant school of thought, philosophical or religious, in the University; nor any conspicuous teachers, except perhaps at Balliol. What we learned was mainly from private reading, not from lectures, and from intercourse with one another. "Iron sharpeneth iron; and a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend."

To one so concentrated upon work, success in examinations came easily. Having made himself an accurate rather than a brilliant scholar, he was mentioned as *proxime* for the Hertford in 1868, in company with his brother. Earlier in the same year he had been placed in the first class in classical moderations; and with little more than twelve months' reading he overtook some of his seniors,

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and obtained a first class in *Literis Humanioribus* in 1869. Immediately afterwards he was elected to a fellowship at Trinity, which he vacated on marriage. A short interval was spent at Glasgow, as assistant to Professor G. G. Ramsay. But Trinity was glad to re-appoint him to an official fellowship, as soon as the reform of the statutes permitted; and there he remained in harness for twenty years, giving up to the college the better part of his life.

It is probable that the position of a don was not altogether congenial to him. In addition to lecturing, it involves supervision over the academical life of all sorts and conditions of undergraduates, and also co-operation with other members of the governing body. For university business, which occupies so large a portion of the time of most Oxford residents, he had a positive distaste. But when the turn of his college came round, he did not refuse the office of Proctor, but conscientiously performed its multifarious functions. After becoming a tutor, he never examined in the Schools. His work was not limited to the academical year of three short terms. Every long vacation he took with him to the seaside—for he was a lover of the sea and its cliffs—a small reading party of Trinity pupils, to whom he gave of his best without fee. It was then that they learned not only what he had to teach, but also what manner of man their teacher was. This private coaching, which was formerly more common at Oxford than it has now become, was the really fruitful portion of his tutorial work; and by it Franklin Richards will be gratefully remembered by many generations of Trinity men, who think themselves fortunate in having been selected to share his companionship.

Apart from his teaching at Oxford, which took up so much of his time, I must say something about his personal work, to which his whole life was devoted, to the very last. This work lay in the domains of philosophy, ancient history, archæology, and botany. With regard to philosophy, he belonged to no school,

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but had read widely in all. For metaphysics proper he had little sympathy, since the tendency of his mind was scientific, and he preferred concrete facts. Plato and Aristotle he regarded as the only proper material for teaching philosophy, though he would encourage his pupils to read modern books as widely as he did himself. But, in truth, with him philosophy was not a subject to be learnt or taught, but a rule of life to be practised. It was the foundation of his own character, and the constant guide of his conduct. Never since Marcus Aurelius—whom he greatly admired—has there lived a more consistent Stoic. Ancient history he preferred to philosophy, because it presented him with the concrete facts that he liked. His erudition in this department was immense, and it was all recorded accurately in the pigeon-holes of his mind. It is the more to be regretted that he published so little, and has left in his note-books nothing, I fear, in a fit state for publication. Archæology first attracted him as supplying the materials for ancient history; but the fascination of the subject in itself grew upon him, and helped to develope the æsthetic side of his nature. In later years, nothing gave him greater pleasure than to see with his own eyes the excavations at Rome, or to visit the galleries of the British Museum. His interest in botany came, I think, from his intimacy with Grant Allen, though they looked at the subject from different stand-points. To Grant Allen, the how and the why, as revealing the secrets of evolution, were everything; while Richards confined himself to the study of local Floras and the identification of species. For many years this was the chief amusement of the hours that he reserved from his books, and it induced him to journey, often on foot, over the larger number of the English counties. It satisfied his love of orderly classification and precise knowledge; but he never formed any collections, nor wrote on the subject, except to assist fellow botanists. The natural charm of the study was appropriate to his simple disposition, and many of his friends will like to remember him in this connexion.

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I may mention a few lighter features of his character. Though he was a wide reader, it would not be true to call him omnivorous. For some of the standard works of English literature, especially of English poetry, he had little taste; and where he had no taste, he never forced his inclination. French and German were absolutely familiar to him; but his visits to Italy came too late to enable him to take pleasure in the language of Dante. Novels he devoured, particularly French novels. At one time he was a great admirer of Swinburne; latterly, I believe, he turned more often to Matthew Arnold. He was extremely fond of the theatre, though not of the orthodox drama. In music he cared only for tunes, such as he could have repeated to him on the piano. Travel and sight-seeing were his two chief pleasures.

It is with no little hesitation that I feel bound to touch upon his attitude towards religion, or rather towards theology. Religious he was assuredly, if religion be the conscientious performance of all our duties to our fellow-men. But it would be idle to pretend that he was ever orthodox. In his early days he belonged to that school of thought represented by John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer, Darwin and Huxley, which had to fight a battle (now won) against clerical obscurantism. He was himself, however, never aggressive, and his natural tendency was in favour of reticence, though not in favour of cowardly concealment of the truth as he saw it. As years passed by, I fancy that he underwent some change, like most of us. But the change was not altogether on his side. The two hostile forces of free-thought and supernaturalism have now to a large extent agreed upon a truce, and have come to understand that what they had fought over were not essentials. In his own case, deeper study and wider experience doubtless contributed to the same result. Philosophy, science, and history alike teach the lesson of continuity in the affairs of mankind, as in the laws of the universe. He came to recognise that each successive generation must be what their ancestors and their environment have made them. In this

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connexion, it is significant to remember that the only little book he published was one dealing with the condition of the Roman Empire on "The Eve of Christianity," in which book there is not a word that could offend the most simple believer. I would also call to mind that among the Fellows of Trinity of his time no less than three are now bishops, and that with each of these he was on terms of cordial intimacy, without any suppression of convictions on either side. I venture to say that he would have felt no objection to having the funeral service of the Church of England read over him, if only it could have been read by a friend, though the words would not have meant the same to him as they do to most. The following lines from an Oxford poet of a generation older than our own fairly embody his creed, or rather his rule of conduct.

"*Hath man no second life?*" Pitch this one high!
"*Sits there no judge in Heaven, our sin to see?*"
More strictly, then, the inward judge obey!
"*Was Christ a man like us?*" Ah! let us try
If we then, too, can be such men as he!"

There remains one more feature of his character about which I must speak. Outwardly reserved to the point of austerity, he had within him a heart of gold. Courteous and considerate to everybody, especially to women and children, it was only to a few that he extended the privilege of intimate friendship. To none did he unlock his secret soul, for that was not in his nature. But with him, more than with any other man that I have known, the interchange of the sweet offices of friendship was an ethical obligation, which probably drew some of its sanction from ancient philosophy. It is hardly too much to say that in him the duty of friendship took the place which in others is filled by the dictates of religion. While it was to his early friends that this aspect was most strongly manifested, there are many of a younger generation, especially among his pupils at Trinity, whose lives

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have been enriched by the example of "self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control" which he set before them. It is thus that he would himself desire to be remembered, and remembered he will be as long as any of his friends survive.

"Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail
Or knock the breast, no weakness, no contempt,
Dispraise, or blame—nothing but well and fair,
And what may quiet us in a *life* so noble."

HOMES AND LODGING HOUSES FOR WORKING BOYS.

By CHARLES E. B. RUSSELL.

NO one who has studied the street life of a great city can have failed to notice how regular is the supply of fresh youthful recruits to the large number of lads and young men who appear habitually to obtain their living by hawking small wares and papers in the busiest and most central streets; and any such student must also have noticed that many of these street sellers possess every indication of belonging to what is known as the loafing class. This being so, it may be well to consider from whence the continual flow of recruits to the existing army of street sellers comes, and what measures it may be possible to take to check the supply of fresh materials for a calling which seems almost invariably, as the years go on, to lead to a terrible demoralisation of character.

Where are the homes from which these street vendors have come? How is it they are not following a more regular form of employment? Is it owing to the nature of the home, or is it some difficulty in early education, or some flaw in character which has led to these youths escaping from the ordinary ranks of labour?

In the first place, I would say without hesitation that no more fruitful source of evil, so far as young people are concerned, exists than the Common Lodging House. It is a blot upon the social life of our great cities that too often it is the case that a youth between 16 and 19 years of age, thrown upon his own resources through some cause or another, and having to leave the home of his childhood, can find no place in which to rest other than the Common Lodging House,—a place which, while it may not further harm men who habitually resort to it, is yet fraught with danger of the very worst kind to youths who have to make

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use of the shelter it affords; for it is the case that the overwhelming majority of youths living in Common Lodging Houses are young people who are not in regular employment but make their living by street peddling of various kinds, who have, it would almost seem, an inborn distaste to early rising, and who rarely leave the Lodging House Kitchen before 9 or 10 o'clock in the morning to commence their wanderings in the city and their more or less strenuous efforts to obtain sufficient for the day without the least thought for what is to happen on the morrow. Let a lad for the first time come to such a house with a fixed intention when he enters it to be up early in the morning and search for work. Let his efforts to obtain employment be fruitless, and in a few days he will, it is sad to notice, begin to be attracted by the life of those who share his lodgings, and acting on their advice and unable to stand their continual chaff at his efforts to obtain work, will decide to throw in his lot with them, and endeavour to find amid the hurly-burly of the streets a livelihood for himself.

Now if such a lad were to seek, with a few pence in his pocket, any home other than the Common Lodging House, could he find it? To the writer's knowledge no other home or lodging house of any kind exists for boys placed in such a position. If younger, there are excellent institutions all over the country which would take charge of him and shelter him. If a man, he can also, as a rule, obtain food and shelter in some of the many institutions provided by the charitable, and can, by the expenditure of some effort in chopping wood, obtain the means of keeping body and soul together for some short time. It is not a good thing to offer to a young lad of sixteen such a work as wood chopping. Too frequently it will cause him to imagine that he has sunk to the bottom of the social ladder, and instead of rousing him to renewed effort will deaden within him any hopes of rising to something better; and the writer's purpose in penning this paper is to urge the importance of the provision of suitable Lodging Houses for boys of this class, Lodging Houses strictly speaking and not

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Homes : for after all *family* life under good and clean conditions is what is most necessary and desirable. It should surely be possible for houses to be provided on a basis which should not preclude altogether the possibility of their being self-supporting Lodging Houses, houses where such boys might go on payment of the usual price of 4d. per night, and be provided with exactly what the ordinary Common Lodging House sets out to give its patrons ; but yet houses which should be managed by men who have some knowledge of the trade requirements of the district, who should be able to suggest to a boy where he might obtain work ; and should further be so much more than Lodging Houses that they should offer to a lad who was actually penniless, shelter for the night and breakfast the next morning, with a chance of again returning to the House at night in exchange for house work of many kinds which he might do in the afternoon when his efforts to obtain work during the morning had failed. More than this, it should be the function of the manager to see that a boy did not become a permanent lodger, but to find for him after he had obtained work a home with some decent family, a home indeed in which his own weekly contribution would be of great assistance in adding to the comfort of the family, and in which he would enjoy all the comforts of a family life which a home on the communal system can hardly be expected to give.

Again, there is a grave danger in taking lads into a "home" for a lengthy period ; for while they are protected and shielded from evil in the "home," there is a considerable risk that the protection is only as it were a scaffolding within which the walls have been but carelessly built, with the result that as soon as the scaffolding is removed, at the first gale or stress of weather, the whole erection falls with a crash. It may happen that a boy kept in a "home" largely freed from the ordinary temptations of the every-day family life as lived in a working-class district, may, when he has to leave the home, for leave it he must eventually, fall an easy victim to outside temptations from which for years

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he has been shielded. That this is so can be seen to some extent from the fact that Industrial School and Reformatory boys frequently, so far as the writer's experience goes, drift back to reckless and unworthy modes of living, even within a few months of their leaving a Training Ship or Industrial School after a four or five years' sojourn, during which their conduct has been as good as one might desire. The long period of training has not enabled them to resist the temptations of their old-time life, and so it happens that there is grave danger that a boy kept in a permanent home is not being fitted in the best way to overcome the temptations which he is bound to have to face. I would therefore urge the provision of Lads' Lodging Houses of the type already referred to. Of course the question may well be asked here: If a boy who, we will assume, has lost his parents, and is turned into the streets, comes to such a House and asks for shelter and expresses a wish that he may be found work, how is he to be maintained if he, with all the best intentions in the world, is not able to find employment within a few days? There is really only one thing that can be done in such a case, and that is to provide that so soon as the lad obtains work (and lads ought never to be out of employment for long), he should set to work to repay the cost of his maintenance. For instance, he may have obtained work at 12/- per week after being two weeks in the house. The cost of keeping him will probably have been say 7/- per week, so that the House will have incurred an expense of 14/- on his behalf. He should be kept in the Lodging House paying 11/- per week until the weekly difference between the actual cost and what he has paid comes to the total expended on him in the first instance; and then, but not till then, should an effort be made to obtain for him a home in some private family.

Boys from Industrial Schools, who have *not* come from the city in which the school is situated, are most excellently dealt with in Homes of the type of the Ardwick Green Industrial School Old Boys' Home in Manchester. But here, as in other cases, however

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attractive it may be to keep in close touch with boys who have been well-known to the heads of such institutions for years, it is surely wiser and in the best interests of the boys themselves to secure their admission as soon as possible into thoroughly respectable families which could be visited regularly at stated intervals, and from the head of which a report might from time to time be received shewing the general progress of the lad who had been committed to their care.

The writer feels convinced from no little experience that if decent Lodging Houses of the description given were provided, large numbers of youths who at present drift into a loafing, if not criminal, life would be saved from such a calamity; and one of the sources from which the "unemployable" springs would be tapped at its head and, to some extent, diminished. The writer would like to add that were such Homes or Lodging Houses generally provided in our larger cities it should be a condition that lads on leaving Industrial Schools should, instead of being sent immediately to their own homes, go for a probationary period to one of these voluntary homes, on the model of the Manchester Industrial School Old Boys' Home, and so *gradually* come to a full possession of their liberty. The sudden change from the discipline of the school to the freedom and often license of a home in a very poor district is so great that many youths are not strong enough to resist the temptations of a daily life so attractive in many ways to them, and yet so utterly at variance with all they have learnt in their respective schools.

Were these Homes provided, however, a fresh problem comes to the front, for not only would admission to them be sought by those who have had no experience of the Common Lodging House or a life of street selling and loafing, but numbers of youths, habitual lodgers at such Houses and regular frequenters of the busy streets of a city as a means of picking up a precarious living as best they may, would also apply for admission. The question therefore at once arises—should lads of the latter class be brought

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into the close contact with the former which must necessarily ensue from their living in the same House? It may, perhaps, be well for a moment to endeavour to trace the causes of the latter being the street loafer that he is. One or two reasons stand out prominently. They are these. In the first place, a young boy commencing to earn his livelihood in the streets is most frequently the son of dissolute and idle parents, parents who have neglected his education, who have forgotten what their duties to their child really were, who have allowed him from his earliest years a liberty and license which have almost been complete, and who, when the boy has shown signs of rebelling against the restraints of a possible first employment to which he has been put, have raised no objection to his throwing up such work and endeavouring by selling papers, or by running errands, or by carrying bags, by selling matches, or by peddling other small articles, to bring in his weekly quota to the family purse. Time goes on and the lad almost inevitably falls a victim to gambling and other vices; and frequently enough by the time he is 15 or 16 makes up his mind to work entirely on his own account, leaves his home, such as it is, and spends his nights in one or other of the many Common Lodging Houses. It is quite a mistake to suppose that many very young street sellers are without parents. In the case of youths of 17 years of age thrown on their own resources this is frequently the case, but in the writer's experience the *young* street seller is what he is largely by his own deliberate choice.

Another and fruitful origin of the street boy loafer is the utter aversion many youths have to rising sufficiently early to be at any regular kind of employment at the hour required, coupled in many instances with an insatiable mania for gambling in any form. These lads will play pitch-and-toss or cards at any hour of the day for any odd coppers they have obtained; and so terribly strong does the habit become that the writer has known boys who have refused to accept regular employment because, they said, they could not possibly give up the indulgence of the many opportunities

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for gambling their free and unrestrained life in the streets afforded. How can such boys be dealt with?

The writer agrees entirely with Sir Robert Anderson that no boy in his teens should be allowed to live in idleness in the streets, and that Society should make it unlawful for any able-bodied youth who has no means of subsistence to make the streets his home. Whether public sentiment is ripe enough for this is another question; but the writer feels sure that if boy loafing is ever to be done away with, the cure lies in this direction. Boys of this class admitted to such Homes as those proposed would rarely prove satisfactory. If work were found for them, they would probably leave about the time of a more than usually attractive race meeting or at any particular period of public excitement; and many of them, unfortunately, are not too scrupulous in dealing with their employers' goods. The writer is of opinion that the Homes he suggests should, at any rate experimentally, be closed to boys of this class, and that so far as these are concerned the reduction in their numbers should come about by legislation directed against juvenile street loafing.

THE IMPRESSIONIST MOVEMENT IN PAINTING.

By EDWARD MCGEGAN.

IN a brief essay on "Dilettantism," with which Huysmans opens his stimulating volume of art criticism, *Certains*, the following passages occur :—

"One of the most disconcerting symptoms of our time is promiscuousness in admiration. . . . The seeing and the would-be admiring of works, utterly different from and hostile to each other, imply a largeness of spirit, an elasticity of artistic ease, truly flattering." . . . But "the truth is, you cannot understand art and love it truly if you are an eclectic, a dilettante. You cannot be sincerely enraptured before Delacroix if you admire M. Bastien-Lepage ; you do not love M. Gustave Moreau if you admit M. Bonnat, or M. Degas if you tolerate M. Gervex. . . . You cannot have talent if you do not love with passion or hate with passion ; enthusiasm and contempt are indispensable to the creation of a work ; talent belongs to the sincere and to the passionate, not to the indifferent and the cowardly."

These words touch one of the great problems in æsthetic appreciation and criticism : the orientation of the individual in the world of art. The problem remains finally insoluble to all of us. What appears to us as a cipher to-day may seem ten to-morrow, or the ten of to-morrow may seem one or nothing or a hundred a year hence. The only means by which we can reach an approximate solution of the problem is by taking care that our power and extent of vision constantly increase, and that our faculty for comparison keeps pace with this.

The cultivation of the æsthetic sense is the giving of free scope to our emotions and to our intuitions rather than to (though far from exclusive of) our intellectual and reasoning faculties. Being primarily emotional, the æsthetic sense, no matter how ardent it may be, has necessarily an element of vagueness in it ;—what might be called an infinite largeness and breadth. Science, on the other hand, being primarily the exercise of intellect, a search for

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intellectual truth, is necessarily more exact ; must, indeed, avoid vagueness as far as is possible. Science is thus infinitely more capable of definition ; therefore, we should imagine, more liable to be dogmatic. That it can be and is dogmatic, we know too well. But with all its dogmatism, the great virtue of science is the virtue of the open mind ; the tolerance that not only permits of progress but accelerates it ; the virtue by which it is willing to re-examine its beliefs whenever a new theory of fundamentals is propounded.

Huysmans's method—the application of strong but limited sympathies, and of equally strong but more extensive prejudices : applied earlier by Ruskin and resulting, with him, in (for example) that lamentable chapter on Claude and Poussin—has often furnished some of the most fascinating pages of æsthetic criticism ; but whether the subject be art or literature it tends to tell us more of the nature of the critic than of the subject—person or product—dealt with. The method is eminently preferable to that pursued by the critics of our daily journals : the acceptance of everything from chipped flints to the latest society entertainer provided by the Academy ; but it becomes increasingly evident that æsthetics should reverse the common process of politics : it should enquire and understand before it becomes either fixed or fluid. “The business of intelligent criticism is to be in touch with everything.” To have our emotional nature always susceptible to new impressions and to the deepening of old impressions ; and at the same time to have our intellectual nature so responsive to the call of our emotions, and yet in itself so alive and reasonably critical that it will cast out, at once or gradually, what is weak or mistaken in these, and retain for ever what in them is strengthening and productive of higher emotion and thought and action, is the only constant care and aim worth having in æsthetics.

The advent of a new school or of a strong and original personality in art or in literature invariably shows the necessity for such a care and aim. The long and checkered history of Impressionism

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shows it with singular clearness and force. Impressionism was scoffed at and ostracised from the first, save by an exceptionally clear-sighted few. It was regarded as a riotous alien in the realm of art. It was persecuted as an impious destroyer of the True, the Beautiful and the Good (for a kind of devilish power was early perceived in its higher criticism of the æsthetic Trinity). For fully twenty years war was waged against it. Banished from the *Salons*, it was forced to eke out a precarious existence on the proceeds of private exhibitions, or of direct and scarcely remunerative sales to dealers and collectors.* But Impressionism had a courage equal to its genius for revolution. It sustained the attack of all the forces—and they were many—that were brought against it; and though the war is not over even yet and Impressionism still largely remains outside the sphere of official art, all the honours are indubitably on the side of the Impressionists; and we but paraphrase the words of some of those who do not love it much, when we say that all landscape art of the future and all art aiming at the treatment of contemporary life must inevitably take account of Impressionism.

In giving a brief account of the Impressionist movement in painting, we do not propose to deal with all that may be classed under the name of Impressionism in the art of to-day. Impressionism, in the widest sense, was invented long before the Nineteenth Century; and Impressionism, in the narrower sense, as applied to the work of a small group of French painters, united by a common search after new points of view and new techniques, has widened, and has so influenced the art of our time that a study of modern Impressionism would really be a study of nearly all contemporary art that seeks to escape from the tyranny of tradition. We shall deal, then, only with the ideas and the

* The following significant passage from a letter (dated 1875) of Manet to Théodore Duret is quoted by Mr. Wynford Dewhurst (*Studio*, July, 1903):—"I went to see Monet yesterday. I found him quite on the rocks. He asked me to find someone who would buy from him (at his own choice) from ten to twenty pictures at 100 francs apiece. . . . I had thought of some dealer or collector, but I foresee the possibility of a refusal. . . ."

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personalities of that small group of painters who changed the contemptuous nickname of Impressionist into the accepted and honourable designation of the most original and fruitful movement in recent and contemporary art.

Impressionism was but one manifestation of a wide æsthetic and intellectual movement: the gradual overcoming by the spirit of positivism of the vague humanitarianism of "89" and the romanticism of "1830." These had run their course and achieved their purpose; and still earlier ideals could be no more than sign-posts by the way. In philosophy, Comte, Taine and Renan had each given a new and more definitely scientific basis for construction or criticism. In literature, romanticism was dying out. Hugo had shown that he was not untouched by *Parnassien* tendencies; Gautier had confessed that he was a classic at heart, and he had, besides, already anticipated the poetic creeds of both Leconte de Lisle and Baudelaire; Balzac had constructed his *Comédie humaine*. It was the turn of naturalism, guided by Flaubert, Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, and Zola. In painting, Courbet had set up a frank, even brutal, realism against both romanticists and the Barbizon School; and Manet had left the studio of Couture to find inspiration for the treatment of contemporary life in the earlier naturalism of Hals, Velasquez and Goya: and around Manet as their fighting chief, though not as the most characteristic exponent of their art, the Impressionists were soon to be grouped.

Impressionism was thus born in a time of change. The artist had become more concentrated in the sights and the life of his time. These appeared to him as full of interest, and their transcription under certain conditions worthy of all his skill and vision. The past was still attractive, but not so much in itself—and certainly not as a thing to be revived—as for the light it could shed upon the present. Impressionism thus marked a change in the artist's point of view, and to express this properly, with satisfaction to his artistic conscience, a new technique had to be invented.

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First, then, as to the point of view.

The schools based upon tradition had arbitrarily set up distinctions between beauty and ugliness and between noble subjects and *genre*. The Impressionists refused to recognise these. Their heterodoxy was not due to any innate indifference towards beauty or nobility, but solely to their recognition that these are abstract terms, that no absolute division between them and their opposites is possible, and that every object, in itself or as treated by the artist, may be (if art *must* have a purpose) a witness to beauty and nobility. This does not imply that they took the universe and all its visible contents for their province. Far from it. Their interests were, indeed, limited. They made no claim to universality either of vision or of power. They extended the field of art, and sought to obtain complete mastery over what within it attracted them most—that is all. They substituted for the conventional ideals of beauty and nobility, as the principal aims of painting, the treatment of the poetry of light and that special individuality or character which resides in and is reflected by all things and which, if rightly observed and rightly rendered, may form the subject of a work of art worthy of being called beautiful and noble. In other words, beauty and nobility were still sought for, but in spheres outside the recognition of official art—in luminous phenomena and social phenomena, and in a spirit of realism as opposed to the idealism (mainly false) of their time.

All were attracted by the immediate vision of the fleeting aspect of things, by that constant change in the colour and form of things which constitutes so much of the poetry of light. Most of us really see form with impressionist eyes. We can recognise a scene or a building already known to us long before we are near enough to perceive the details of its parts; and we can recall it to our mind's eye whenever we choose, and know that what we see mentally is that building or that scene, and no other. And yet, if we try to draw it from memory, we find, do

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we not, that the details have escaped us, and that what we have really made our own is simply an impression which has seized and retained more or less of the distinctive character of the scene or building; and if the recognition of this makes us regard it more closely on other occasions, we shall find that our impressions may be indefinitely varied, because we begin to see that form and colour are intimately associated and that they vary with conditions of light. And we are still less susceptible to variations of colour. We do see colour, of course, but usually with a subconscious recollection that certain things have certain almost invariable colours; and this prevents us from perceiving the infinite changes and gradations of colour which result from varying conditions of light, whether natural or artificial. The Impressionists made it an important part of their study to observe and note these variations of form and colour; some—Monet, Pissarro, Sisley and others—made this their main pursuit. For these latter, light became, in Manet's words, "the principal person in a picture;" the object it revealed was secondary: not because the object in itself was a matter of indifference, but because, as it is light that reveals form and is the procreatrix of colour, if the light were faithfully rendered, it followed that the object it played upon would receive its true value.

So far, then, Impressionism is a form of painting which tends (we quote M. Gustave Geffroy)

"towards phenomenalism, towards the appearance and the signification of things in space, and which regards the synthesis of these things as consisting in their momentary appearance."

The broader divisions of the day had been rendered by earlier painters, but the separate hours had never sounded in art. They sounded now, sometimes stridently and false in number at first; but, later, confidently and with a rare and subtle timbre. And these fleeting aspects were not observed by the Impressionist with the unimpassioned method of the scientist. His pulse did not

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measure the seconds of the hour he painted. He was not a mere extension of the handle of his paint-brush; nor was he that passive piece of colour-photographic apparatus which Mr. Brownell has mistaken him for. ("What," he asks, "does a canvas of Claude Monet show . . . ? . . . It is more truthful, but not less impersonal than a photograph;" a statement which, presented, as it is, as the conclusion of a study and interpretation of the actual achievement of Monet's life-work, appears to us to be as superficial and unsatisfactory as the average politician's study and interpretation of a social problem.) It was, indeed, the very intensity with which the Impressionist observed and sought to render on canvas the effects and the poetry of light, that the outcry against him was so loud and so long sustained. It was this intensity too which sometimes made the outcry justifiable, for it was directed, at times, towards effects which, if faithfully rendered, resulted in crudeness, in the unpictorial. But, on the whole, even in their early experimental days, the Impressionists were guided by a true regard for decorative and pictorial effect; and later, when they had completely understood their point of view and mastered their technique, their work was almost invariably superbly pictorial.

While some of the Impressionists limited their studies almost exclusively to the treatment of luminous phenomena, others were more powerfully attracted by the study of social phenomena. This difference of preference has led some critics to confine the designation, Impressionist, to the former only; but as the latter were equally sedulous in escaping from the traditional treatment of light, and as some members of the group dealt with both luminous and social phenomena, it is confusing and uncritical (and savours of prejudice) to separate them. Indeed, if it were not for this new and distinctly modern treatment of light, this form of Impressionism would, save for its greater comprehensiveness, be little more than a continuation of the art of the Dutch School and of Chardin.

The beauty and the nobility of the official schools; historical and mythological subjects; and all deliberately literary and

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symbolical elements, were rejected by these painters simply because they found in the aspects of contemporary life all the emotional stimulus and all the material for pictorial skill and style that a painter could desire. That what they rejected still remains for other painters to treat, is obvious; that the rejection was made with too much heat and passion, is true; but the important thing to note is that by going direct to contemporary life, for their inspiration, and by treating this in a spirit of reality and with the means it demanded, they have made a distinct, original, and valuable contribution to painting.

Just as Daumier and Gavarni treated certain aspects of the life of their time, so have Manet, Degas, Raffaëlli and others presented a pictorial record of the life of a later generation. But the similarity between them goes no farther than this. The former, though skilful painters, were primarily artists in black and white and in colour-lithography; the latter are, above all, painters. Satire was the aim of the former; whereas realism admitting, at the most, of a slight vein of irony, is the aim of the latter.

Their conception of realism is no mere slavish copying of the facts presented by life. To an extraordinary skill in draughtsmanship, Degas and Raffaëlli (it is now a commonplace in art criticism to compare the former, not unfavourably, with Ingres as a draughtsman) have added a gift of selection, an insight into the essential character of what they treat, a perception of light and a handling of colour, which have placed them in the front rank of the artists of our time. Whether they treat ballet-girls—which have furnished Degas with the subject of some of his greatest works: a poor and insignificant if not unworthy subject, it might seem, yet one which, under Degas' hands, is clothed with a beauty and nobility (and perhaps even adorned with a moral) which might well mollify the prudish, even though Venus were no longer admitted to the Academy—or the desolate sights and the pitiful figures of a Parisian working-class suburb (the peculiar province of Raffaëlli), the result is almost invariably a work of astonishing truth and of

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splendid pictorial quality. Could any subject be more difficult to treat? The stage or the green-room with its gaudy artificial lights; the unnatural dresses of the dancers, and their somewhat more than décolleté figures and their painted faces, all tempt the painter towards crudeness and garishness or towards ill-concealed sensuality; but these are treated by Degas with a justness and keenness of vision, with a perception of their pictorial possibilities which preclude his falling into the one mistake; and with a recognition of the underlying humanity, and with a touch of irony which may seem to you directed against the girls themselves or against those elements of modern life which have brought them into being as a class, which enable him to avoid the other. Similarly with Raffaëlli. All (save the jerry-builder, the local capitalists, and the majority of the inhabitants themselves) weep over the squalid condition of our working-class suburbs. Most painters of such scenes (few, alas, trouble about them) would present them with brutal realism or (the majority, these) would bespatter the canvas with fluent and surface-deep sympathy as though they were Parliamentary candidates in search of votes. But Raffaëlli sees them for what they are—as bits of the modern world, less romantically beautiful than others, but still with a beauty and a character all their own; and if his transcripts seem, before all, to be pictures, they are none the less eloquent of a sincere and beautifully restrained sympathy relieved by just a suggestion of well-merited irony. And if something more than triumphant victory over technical difficulties, and fine pictorial qualities allied to this, are demanded (these should be enough for all) to justify the works of these men, it will be found in the fact that this study of social phenomena has produced social documents of the greatest value: that these pictures may, if we choose, tell us much of Parisian life and, by implication, of city life in general. If you cannot admire them as art, use them (with Forain and Steinlen) as illustrations to the volumes of Mr. Charles Booth and Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell, and you will be astonished

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by the way in which they increase the value—and relieve the unavoidable tedium—of these.

It need hardly be said that revolutionary points of view such as these involved the invention of a new technique. Indeed, Impressionism is regarded by many as above all else that characterises it, a technical revolution. This may be largely true of Neo-Impressionism and of Pointillism, but it is too extreme to be taken seriously when applied to the group we are considering. That the Impressionists were deeply interested in technique for its own sake cannot be disputed: they had the common failing (or is it not a virtue?) of all artists who have something new to express: a fondness for experimenting with their material.

To investigate much of what is implied by "impressionist technique" is obviously outside the scope of the present article. The Impressionist group is composed of artists each of whom possesses a strong individuality, which he has sought to express. The possession of kindred aims has brought and bound them together, but each has followed his own method of expressing his originality. They have many points in common, of course, just as the individuals of any school or period must have; but to confuse them or their works is to allow prejudice to warp our minds and dull our vision. We shall confine ourselves therefore to a few words on the technical revolution, effected mainly by Claude Monet, which is at once most characteristic, and most fruitful of embittered discussion and, probably, of importance for the future.

Monet has always been attracted by the study of luminous phenomena. The time was peculiarly appropriate for this. The discoveries of Young were being carried much farther by Chevreul and Helmholtz; and it was only natural that an artist detached, like Monet, from traditional views and methods, and working independently, from the painter's approach, towards a solution of these problems, should make science the handmaid of art. Monet's independent observation and experiment, aided doubtless (how far,

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it is impossible to say) by more or less direct acquaintance with the results obtained by Chevreul and Helmholtz, led him to discard all preconceived notions with regard to the fixity of local colour; to record the varied play of reflections by taking due account of complementary colours (it is here that Chevreul becomes of importance in art—as an aid if rightly used and as an evil influence if allowed, as by Anquetin, to dominate—by his researches into colour contrasts in his laboratory at the Gobelins—pursued with much discomfort, doubtless, to the classic shades of Colbert and Louis Quatorze); to eliminate from his palette nearly all colours save those of the spectrum and black and white, and to obtain, by the skilful juxtaposition of unmixed touches of these, which the eye of the beholder will afterwards automatically reunite, the image of any tone in nature and the impression of that luminous atmosphere in which all things are bathed and which varies with the intensity of the sun's rays and with the time of day. Simultaneously with this—as part of its ultimate aim, indeed—Monet attacked the problem of giving, not the relative values of the scenes or objects painted—a scheme of colours the scale of which is only correspondent to that of the scene or object painted: in harmony with it but, because no artificial colours can reproduce the greatest light or the greatest dark of nature, pitched on a lower key; nor the absolute values within a certain and fairly comprehensive range which Manet and others had achieved; but the absolute values of natural scenes bathed in full sunlight. To many, the result is merely an astonishingly clever optical illusion and one obtained, moreover, only by the sacrifice of some of the main elements—form, tone, composition, etc.—of pictorial art: in other words, Impressionism, like everything new in art, has had to contend with conservatism, with the tendency of man to see and appraise the new in terms of the old. It is not because Monet's "absolute values" are much, if at all, more illusory than perspective or solidity, or that the means by which they are obtained are less justifiable or artistic, that his work has so often

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been dismissed with contempt; it is rather because we give absolute values to the elements of art and reject as contrary to them what is in reality a conscientious and wise enlargement of them. It may be readily conceded that the experimental stage of Monet's work both invited and deserved strongly adverse criticism: it received sufficient to strangle any painter not prepared to cling to what is really vital in the new with all the tenacity with which the Academies cling to what is mediocre in the old; but since 1882, roughly speaking, the tone of criticism has surely if but slowly changed. Monet has not ceased to experiment (no great artist ever does), but his vision has become keener and clearer, and his command over his material such that experiment has been crowned with more uniform success, and has resulted in some of the greatest works of our time; and, on the other hand, the prejudice of the public, both lay and professional, has given way before a clearer realisation of the true spirit of his art. We do not need to agree wholly with M. Gustave Geffroy* that

"the pantheist poem has never yet been written with such strength and emotion" as in "the incomparable work of one of the master landscape-painters of our own or of any time,"

nor with M. Camille Mauclair† that he attains

"a kind of grand, unconsciously lyrical poetry. He transposes the immediate truth of our vision and elevates it to decorative grandeur. . . . Thus interpreted by this intense faculty of synthesis, Nature, simplified in detail and contemplated in its grand lines, becomes truly a living dream,"

to perceive the significance of Mr. Brownell's admission in his condemnation‡ of the Impressionists in general (save Manet and Degas, who may or may not be regarded as Impressionists

* *La Vie Artistique*, 3e Série: Histoire de l'Impressionnisme. (Paris: E. Dentu, 1894).

† *The French Impressionists (1860-1900)*. Translated by P. G. Konody. (London: Duckworth & Co.).

‡ *French Art: Classic and Contemporary Painting and Sculpture*. (London: D. Nutt, 1892).

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according to the interpretation we give to the term) and of Monet in particular :

"Perforce he loses scale, and therefore artistic completeness, but he secures an incomparably vivid effect of reality, of Nature,—and of Nature in her gayest and most inspiring manifestation, illuminated directly and indirectly, and everywhere vibrant and palpitating with the light of all our physical seeing.

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"No one hereafter who attempts the representation of Nature—and as far ahead as we can see with any confidence, the representation of Nature, the pantheistic ideal if one chooses, will increasingly intrench itself as the painter's true aim—no one who seriously attempts to realise this aim of now universal appeal will be able to dispense with Monet's aid. He must perforce follow the lines laid down for him by this astonishing naturalist. Any other course must result in solecism."

To enter upon discussion of what are variously regarded as the qualities and the defects of Impressionism is impossible here. We have already dealt briefly with some of these ; we may deal with others on some future occasion. The common objections that Impressionism is anti-intellectual, deals with scientific truth rather than with the truth of art and with momentary and superficial appearances instead of with what is permanent, is the apotheosis of temperament and the rejection of the artistic experience of the past, have all been answered time after time and refuted or, where partially true, opposed to more than compensating qualities overlooked by its detractors. Impressionism is neither the first nor the last, neither the least nor the greatest, word in art. Individual Impressionists have been equalled by other artists, opposed to Impressionism, of their time ; but taken as a whole, Impressionism is, we believe, the fullest, finest and most fruitful expression of art which the last half-century has given. And who shall estimate the effect of the blow it has given to that academic ideal of art which stifles progress ? Never, perhaps, has it been more clearly shown than by the Impressionists that the functions of official academies

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and schools are largely these: the incapacitation of the student for the treatment of modern life (and, we might add, the suppression of the spirit, the truth and the beauty of ancient myth) and the recognition of averages: average survivals from the past and average products of the present, never of forces which, because they seem strange and foreign to these, appear to have broken with both past and present and to tell of no future, but which are, in reality, necessary and unbreakable links in the long evolution of art.*

* Those who did not see the magnificent exhibition and vindication of the Impressionists organised in London by Messrs. Durand-Ruel and Sons, of Paris, in February, will find interest in a volume of selections from the works exhibited, recently published by that firm. The volume (which is issued at 2s. 6d.) contains 47 reproductions representing the work of Bondin, Cezanne, Degas, Manet, Monet, Mme. Morisot, Pissarro, Renoir, and Sisley. Few pictures lose so much in the process of transformation into black and white as do Impressionist pictures; but the excellence of these reproductions preserves much of the distinctive quality of the originals. The book is eminently one to keep at hand for constant reference—and delight.

RUSKIN AS A LETTER-WRITER.*

By WILLIAM SINCLAIR.



ANY one who reads Ruskin's delightful and touching letters in *Hortus Inclusus* sees him in his most playful and happy mood, while no interested reader who studies the varied range of subjects in *Arrows of the Chace*, *Time and Tide*, and *Letters to the Clergy*, can be in any doubt of the immense range of his intellectual activity, his broad and tolerant sympathies, his intense longing and work for "sweeter manners, purer laws." The diligent student also has a wide and fertile field of study in the unique work known as *Fors Clavigera*,—his letters to the Workmen and Labourers of Great Britain as he delighted to call them. All these and many more which could be named will give anyone sufficiently interested in the subject some idea that, as a correspondent, Ruskin is justly entitled to be named as one of the greatest letter-writers of the past century.

It would, in itself, be a very pleasant task to write of the early letters of Ruskin, and to trace, step by step, his opinions over a wide range of subjects, and to show how his books were composed from many notes and memoranda, and impressions recorded in letters and diaries. Anyone who has been privileged to look over the original writings in diaries and letters knows that Ruskin was a most laborious and painstaking writer, one who was always altering and adding to the first or original draft, to make his meaning easily comprehended and understood. Many people are under the impression that Ruskin wrote with ease and fluency, because his books are delightful to read; it was not so, and once more goes to prove the saying of Macaulay that easy reading is very hard writing.

* The writer is indebted to Mrs. Severn and Mr. Alexander Wedderburn for granting permission for the use of the letters in this article.

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It is, of course, not my intention to treat my subject *in extenso*, or to attempt any severely critical delineation of the character of Ruskin as is to be found in the innumerable letters he wrote on every conceivable subject, whether in his books or elsewhere; this would be to write a volume instead of an article; my purpose is to treat of one book only and that a little volume of privately printed letters, issued in 1903, entitled *Letters to M.G. and H.G.* by John Ruskin, with a most interesting and sympathetic introduction by that scholarly politician—the Right Hon. George Wyndham.

The initials "M.G. and H.G." may to many savour somewhat of a mystery, but it is explained by stating that they represent the names of the two talented daughters of Mr. Gladstone. For many years the former was one of Mr. Ruskin's guides, comforters, friends, in days when he felt he needed the soothing sympathy of a kindred spirit, and the letters in this little volume give ample proof that she had a reward, an exceeding rich reward, in the admiration, respectful adoration and love of one of the intellectual giants of our time.

The chief interest that lies in the letters addressed by Mr. Ruskin to M.G.,* especially to students of his works, is the charming portrayal of their author by his own hand, and, moreover, they are valuable for their references of public interest and the glimpses afforded of Mr. Gladstone as host. For it was to his youngest daughter we are indebted for bringing Mr. Ruskin to Hawarden where we see him in the company of the Duke of Argyll, Canon Scott Holland and others. The first visit Mr. Ruskin made to Hawarden was in January, 1878, when he was accompanied by Canon Scott Holland, but this was not the first occasion he had met Mr. Gladstone, nor was it the last. Readers of *Præterita* will remember the reference to Ruskin at Lady Davy's table, in the company of J. G. Lockhart's daughter, of

* Miss Mary Gladstone (Mrs. Harry Drew).

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whom he was greatly enamoured, when he found she did not care for a word he said.

"And Mr. Gladstone was on the other side of her—and the precious moments were all thrown away in quarrelling across her with him, about Neapolitan prisons. He couldn't see, as I did, that the real prisoners were the people outside."

When they met again it was under happier auspices, at Hawarden. The prospect, however, of Mr. Ruskin, as he drove with Canon Scott Holland from Broughton Station to Hawarden, was not a particularly bright one, and it is somewhat amusing to learn his view of the situation, as related by his companion. Mr. Ruskin it appears

"had the darkest view possible of his host, imbibed from the 'Master' Carlyle, to whose imagination he figured apparently as the symbol of all with which he was at war. Ruskin was therefore extremely timid and suspicious, and had secured in view of a possible retreat, a telegram which might at any moment summon him home; this telegram loomed largely the first day, and we were constantly under its menace. But as hour by hour he got happier, the references to its possible arrival came more and more rarely, and finally it became purely mythical."

There is also an interesting description of Mr. Ruskin as a talker, by an anonymous diarist in the little book in question, which substantiates the view of Mr. Frederic Harrison's references to Ruskin's indescribable charm of manner as a conversationalist.

"Then—*absente magistro*—a quick tangle of remarks followed on his manifold pleasant ways; his graceful and delightful manner—bright, gentle, delicately courteous; the lyric melody of his voice—more intensely spiritual, more subduedly passionate, more thrilling! than any voice I ever heard. He is a swift observer and acute. Not talkative, but ever willing to be interested in things, and to throw gleams of his soul's sunlight over them; original in his dazzling idealism. For ever 'thinking on whatsoever things are pure, and lovely, and of good report,' etc.; *annihilating*, in the intense white

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heat of his passionate contempt and hatred, all vile, dark hateful things. They are not—cannot be. They are lies, negations, blanks, nonentities, 'God is—and there is *none else* beside Him.'"

Interesting as is this glimpse of a great man seen at close quarters unburdening his soul in all that makes for righteousness in congenial company, we have a companion picture from the pen of Canon Scott Holland which is drawn in loving manner:—

"He came up to one so confidentially, so appealingly, with the wistful look in his grey-glinting eyes, which seemed to say, 'I never find anybody who quite understands me, but I still hope and think that you will.' How quaint, the mingling of this wistfulness in the face with the spotted blue stock and the collars and the frock-coat, which made him look like something between an old fashioned nobleman of the Forties and an angel that had lost his way. The small, bird-like head and hands and figure had, nevertheless, a curious and old world pomp in their gait and motions. The bushy eyebrows gave a strength to the upper part of the face which was a little unexpected, and which found its proper balance in the white beard of his last years. He, somehow, moved one as with the delicate tenderness of a woman; and he felt frail, as if the roughness of the world would hurt and break him; and one longed to shelter him from all that was ugly and cruel."

The conversations of the illustrious host and the unrivalled guest—Gladstone the statesman-theologian, of consuming moral energy in practical affairs;—Ruskin teacher, preacher and the diviner of the Beautiful, are valuable and attractive and show their respective points of view in matters of personal interest. Ruskin, for instance, assured Gladstone that he made it a rule for at least twenty years to know nothing of any doubtful question,—nothing but what was absolutely true and certain. He did not attach any importance to opinions, to speculations of which the truth was doubtful. He was only concerned to know things that were true and there were enough of them to take up one's lifetime to learn. When Mr. Gladstone spoke of round towers in Ireland, Mr. Ruskin answered that he took no interest in the subject because it was a controverted one, and therefore he took no part in it.

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He was evidently more interested in seeing a newspaper which would be absolutely truthful and could be faithfully trusted. In newspapers he contended that the most infamous people were forced upon the reader's attention and all manner of abominations and villainy were published daily, whereas newspapers should tell of the people best worth knowing—the gentlest, purest, noblest of mankind—believing that there was no fear of spoiling the good people by publishing their virtues and bringing them into prominence. They are the last people whom editors, pious or otherwise, think of referring to; it is not in their day's work. Mr. Ruskin, as is known, subscribed to the newspaper that was written for gentlemen by gentlemen—the *Pall Mall Gazette*—and its one-time famous editor, Mr. Stead, once told me that he thought he possessed as full a collection of Mr. Ruskin's letters as anyone, for it was to him many of them were addressed on the important public questions which from time to time engaged his attention.

When Mr. Ruskin expounded at length his scheme for the enforcement of social responsibility for crime, Mr. Gladstone listened attentively with a look of puzzled earnestness, doubtless wondering how it could be carried out in a judicious and judicial manner to satisfy the ends of justice. Ruskin held that the inhabitants of every place should be held responsible and guilty of the crimes done in their neighbourhood. Every one should be made to feel the crime as his own.

Again, he discoursed on domestic virtues. Mothers ought not to expend their love upon their own children only, but while making that love the central care should also love all other children; especially the poor and suffering.

"To be a father to the fatherless is the peculiar glory of a Christian."

On marriage he was no less forcible, although it is a subject on which one would imagine he had no right to preach; but his many-sidedness is his great charm. A woman should not venture to hope or even think for perfectness in him she would love, but, on the

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other hand, *he* should believe the maiden to be purity and perfection; perfectly faultless.

“Women are, in general (he said), far nobler, purer, more divinely perfect than men, because they come less in contact with evil,”

—a most charitable judgment and so like Ruskin in his passionate idealism. But coming to more practical matters he mournfully admitted the failure of his road-making at Hinksey, believing it was owing to the lack of earnestness in the students. They played at work.

“It is only one of the many signs of the diabolical condition of Oxford.”

When we visited Hinksey on a recent occasion, when the landscape was bathed in sunshine, the students' roadway was scarcely discernable. We had to ask the villagers the exact place, for it appeared to have disappeared altogether.

Oxford has many charms as one of the two enchanted cities in the United Kingdom; and to the visitor who loves to linger by the banks of the Isis, especially in the glory of midsummer, when the house-boats are a blaze of colour, it is a scene not soon to be forgotten. But Ruskin held that racing on the river was utterly ruinous, and the racing-boats were the destruction of the river's charm and beauties; he would rather that racing be discouraged and riding encouraged at Oxford, although the horse was ruined by racing—a distinction with a difference, for he spoke as an artist of its beauty ideally. Many people are ready to controvert opinions such as are here given, and in talking over the question with a student at Oxford, he insisted that while it might be true too much time was given up to sport by students, he was more inclined to say that too much thought was certainly devoted to sport at Oxford. This by the way. It is more interesting to think how Mr. Ruskin's hearers would be both delighted and astonished at his opinions on things in general. Over a wide range of subjects he,

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"Socialist, Aristocrat, dreaming Idealist, hater of modern 'Liberty, of pride of wealth, of bastard 'Patriotism,' lover of the poor and the laborious, toiling multitude; . . . detesting war and its standing armies,"

declared at Hawarden his opinions in no uncertain tones, while the host good-naturedly was ready to accept his principles even if he would differ as to their practical application, and the Duke of Argyll, in his usual impatient manner, responded by saying—

"You seem to want a very different world from what we experience,"

and Ruskin, who knew the Duke at the Metaphysical Society, where he used to be so grim that he never ventured within the table's length of him, now met him, at closer quarters, with the naive reply—

"Yea, verily, a new heaven and a new earth, and the former things passed away."

Canon Scott Holland, in his charming sketch of Gladstone and Ruskin at Hawarden,* tells how the learned host tried to lead the conversation where there would be as little chance of contention as possible. Mr. Gladstone discussed Homer and the *Iliad*, and here, it was thought, they would meet on common ground, so to say, but alas! even here they were not found to agree. When Mr. Gladstone proceeded to show how in a certain passage it was clear that even Homer had some knowledge of the principles of barter which modern economic science would try to justify, Ruskin regretfully responded by saying—

"And to think that the devil of Political Economy was alive even then."

Yet again, Mr. Gladstone, on another occasion, brought Sir Walter Scott to the front as a subject likely to be cause of no disagreement between them, and one that would surely appeal to

* Printed along with the letters to M. G. and H. G.

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Mr. Ruskin's heart and head. When Mr. Gladstone began an impassioned reference to the works of Sir Walter and all they had done for Scotland, he ventured the remark that

"Sir Walter had made Scotland."

At this Mr. Ruskin wished to know what was meant by the remark, and so, brought to bay, Mr. Gladstone held forth on the immense improvement in the means of communication and travel in Scotland since Scott's time, and spoke of the isolation of life, especially in the Highlands, and the number of excursionists now conveyed all over the country with speed and safety. This was evidently too much for Mr. Ruskin, for he exclaimed :

"But, my dear sir, that is not making Scotland, that is unmaking it."

This is only another reminder of his trenchant remark, in a letter written years before when he refused an invitation to dinner by the Caledonian Society,

"I never go to public dinners ; and if steam ploughs are to be used in Caledonia, no dinners will preserve the memory of Burns."

If it was for nothing else than his fearlessness in his treatment of cherished opinions, we cannot but agree, or agree to differ, with the charming frankness of Ruskin's views. The references in the private diary of Mr. Gladstone make it clear that while they might differ in their views there was a deep-rooted affection which no difference of opinion could quench.

"We had much conversation,—interesting of course, as it must always be with him. . . . In some respects an unrivalled guest, and those important respects too. . . . No diminution of charm. . . . Mr. Ruskin developed his political opinions. They aim at the restoration of the Judaic system and exhibit a mixture of virtuous absolutism and Christian socialism. All in his charming and benevolent manner.

And in referring to the conversations which he was privileged to listen to at Hawarden, Canon Scott Holland writes :—

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"The amusement of the meeting of the two (Gladstone and Ruskin) lay in the absolute contrast between them at every point on which conversation could conceivably turn. The brimming optimism of Mr. Gladstone, hoping all things, believing everybody, came clashing up at every turn with the inveterate pessimism of Mr. Ruskin, who saw nothing on every side but a world rushing headlong down into the pit. They might talk on the safest of topics, and still the contrast was inevitable."

Readers of *Fors*, in the LVII letter, are aware of a blank in the page which is significant, for it is stated that

"the passage now and henceforward omitted in this place contained an attack on Mr. Gladstone, written under a complete misconception of his character ;"

and the blank space is left

"partly in due memorial of rash judgment."

In this connection it may be stated that we owe this change of opinion to Miss Mary Gladstone, for it was she who brought Mr. Ruskin to Hawarden, where he had a fuller opportunity of knowing the nobility of character of the Statesman and Scholar, and understood him in his earnestness. Writing to "Dearest M.," in his first letter (January 18, 1878), he says :—

"How is it possible for the men who have known him long to allow the thought of his course of conduct now, or at any other time, having been warped by ambition, to diminish the lustre and the power of his name? I have been grievously deceived concerning him myself, and have *once* written words about him which I trust *you* at least may never see. They shall be effaced henceforward (I have written to cancel the page on which they are). If ever you see them forgive me, and you will know what it *is* to forgive."

And not less generous are the following words written a little later :—

"It was a complete revelation to me, and has taught me a marvellous quantity of most precious things—above all things the rashness of my own judgment (not as to the right or wrong of things themselves, but as to the temper in which men say and do them)."

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While Mr. Ruskin made confession of his error of judgment to his fair correspondent, he did not depart from Hawarden without making an equally generous confession to Mr. Gladstone himself. Standing on the hall steps he begged publicly to recant all that he had ever said or thought of his unrivalled host, and so the victory was a complete one. We are prepared to be told of the joy of the discovery; but Ruskin, we are informed, was naturally

"a little nervous as to how he was going to explain it to 'the Master' when he got back to Chelsea."

All this is very delightful to learn for the insight we gain into the generous good nature of Mr. Ruskin, for it must never be lost sight of that no writer of our time was so generous in his sincere appreciation of greatness wherever he found it, just as no one was so severe a critic on his own errors of judgment and sins of omission and commission. Anyone who cares for proof of this statement has only to read, for example, the annotated edition of the second volume of *Modern Painters*, issued in two small volumes in 1882. But further, while this is true, and we read of Mr. Ruskin in his first letter to M.G. writing,

"I thank *Fors* and your sweet sister very solemnly for having let me see your Father,"

it is not to be concluded that Mr. Ruskin was always in the same solemn mood. Whenever he was deeply moved he wrote in strong and forcible language, whether it was a question of spoiling beautiful natural scenery or the so-called restoration of our ancient cathedrals; the one for the sake of dividend-hunting company promoters, or the other to gratify the ambition of some obscure clergymen: all alike merited the righteous indignation and severe condemnation of the Seer of Coniston. For, as Mr. Frederic Harrison in his monograph on him in the *English Men of Letters* series, writes,

"vehement language was with Ruskin a literary intoxication rather than a moral fault. He has paid a bitter penalty for failing to overcome

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the tendency. To paraphrase an absurd epigram about Oliver Goldsmith's talk and his books, it might be said of Ruskin that he talked like an angel and wrote as if he were one of the Major Prophets."

It is necessary to bear this criticism in mind while we refer to an apparent change in Mr. Ruskin's opinion regarding Mr. Gladstone, and the explanation which he gave, afterwards, of his position. In this connection we have only to remember his famous letter to the students when he was prevailed upon to allow his name to be put up as independent Candidate for the Rectorship of Glasgow University in the three-cornered contest in 1880. This led to some correspondence, and when asked if he sympathized with Lord Beaconsfield or Mr. Gladstone he replied,

"What, in the devil's name, have *you* to do with either Mr. D'Israeli or Mr. Gladstone? You are students at the University, and have no more business with politics than with rat-catching. Had you ever read ten words of mine with understanding, you would have known that I care no more either for Mr. D'Israeli or Mr. Gladstone than for two old bagpipes with the drones going by steam, but that I hate all Liberalism as I do Beelzebub, and that, with Carlyle, I stand, we two alone now in England, for God and the Queen."

This was, surely, rather a severe blow to give to students who were fond of playing at politics; but the fact that, on election day, in the three-cornered contest, and standing as an independent candidate, he polled and received support of three hundred and nineteen students, is proof that his strongly-worded protest had been taken in a fair spirit, and with an appreciation of his work in the literary world. While this can be said for the students in Glasgow, another view of the situation is obtained when we remember that the words very naturally gave offence at Hawarden, where he had such a generous welcome and fairly favourable opportunity of knowing Mr. Gladstone and his opinions, political and otherwise. We are therefore prepared to learn of a break in the continuity of the letters to his fair correspondent at Hawarden, on whom he was fond of bestowing many pet names. But in

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justice to Mr. Ruskin and his memory, we are now in possession of the knowledge of the manner in which his position was logically clear to himself, and of how he made it clear to his correspondent. For this purpose I cannot do better than quote the letter:—

“Amiens,

“23rd October, 1880.

“My Very Dear M——,

“I only did not answer your first letter because I did not think it was in woman's nature (being in the noble state of a loving daughter) to read any syllable of answer with patience, when once she knew the letter was mine. I wrote a word or two to F——; and now, if indeed you are dear and patient enough to read, I will tell you why *that* letter was written, and what it means. Of *course*, it was not written for publication. *But* it was written under full admission of the probability of being some day compelled to allow its publication. Do not for an instant admit in your mind the taint of a thought that I would privately write of any man—far less of one whom I honoured and loved—words which I would not let him hear or see, on due occasion. I love and honour your Father, just as I have always told him and you that I did. As a perfectly right-minded private English gentleman; as a man of purest religious temper, and as one tenderly compassionate, and as one earnestly (desiring to be) just.

“But in none of these virtues, God be praised, is he alone in England. In none of these lights does it seem to me, is he to be vociferously or exclusively applauded, without *dishonour* implied to other English gentlemen, and to other English politicians. Now for the other side, my adversary side (that which, surely, I candidly enough always warned you there was in me, though one does not show it ‘up the lawn nor by the wood,’ at Hawarden). I have always fiercely opposed your Father's politics; I have always Despised (forgive the Gorgonian word) his way of declaring them to the people. I have always despised, also, Lord Beaconsfield's methods of appealing to Parliament and to the Queen's ambition, just as I do all Liberal,—so-called appeals to the Mob's—not ambition (for Mobs have not sense enough, or knowledge enough, to be ambitious) but conceit. I could not have explained all this to my Liberal Glaswegian Constituents; I would not, had I been able. They asked me a question they had no business with, and got their answer (written between two coats of colour which I was laying on an oakleaf, and about which I was, that morning, exceedingly

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solicitous, and had vowed that no letter should be answered at all)—and in my tired state, 'le peintre ne s'amuse (mais point du tout!) à être ambassadeur.' The answer, nevertheless, was perfectly deliberate and meant, *once for all*, to say on the matter the gist of all I had to say.

"After the election is over—and however it goes—all this will be explained in another way; and you shall see every word before I print it, though there will, and must, be much that will pain you. But there will be nothing that is even apparently discourteous; and, in the meantime, remember, that if your Father said publicly of me that he cared no more for *me* (meaning Political and Economical me)—than for a broken bottle stuck on the top of a wall—I should say—only—well, I knew that before—but the rest of me he loves, for all that.

"I meant this letter to be so legible, and so clear and quiet—and here it is, all in a mess, as usual. . . . Perhaps you'll like it better so; but mind, I've written it straight away the moment I opened a line from my niece saying she had seen Mr. Burne Jones, and that you *might* be written to! And, my dear, believe *this, please*—if you care to believe it—that I never in my life was in such peril of losing my 'Political independence' as under my little Madonna's power at Hawarden. And I am, and shall be ever, her loving servant,

"JOHN RUSKIN."*

Surely this was indeed the *amende honorable* and does credit to the spirit of the writer, as well as to his friends at Hawarden, as the following letter proves:—

"Amiens,

"28th October, 1880.

"My Darling Little Madonna,

"You are really *gratia plena* (don't be shocked, I'm writing about the Saints all day, just now, and don't know when I'm talking quite properly to my pets), but it is unspeakably sweet of your Father and you to forgive me so soon, and I'm inclined to believe anything you'll tell me of him after that; only, you know, I'm a great believer in goodness, and fancy there are many people who ought to be canonized who never are; so that—be a man ever so good—I'm not idolatrous of him. (If it's a . . . Madonna, it's another thing you

* [This letter (28th July, 1879) was written in answer to one from M. G. in which she informed him that his name had been taken in vain by the newspapers, and quoting the paragraph in question. (She thought this was the best way of punishing him.)]

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know), but I never for an instant meant any comparison or likeness between D. and your Father—they merely had to be named as they were questioned of. On the other hand, I know nothing about D. whatsoever, but have a lurking tenderness about him because my own father had a liking for him and was in great grief about my first political letter—twenty (or thirty?) years ago—which was a fierce attack upon him.

“I do trust nothing more will ever cause you to have doubt or pain, I can't get what I have to say said; I'm tired to-day—have found out things very wonderful, and had—with your letter at least—more pleasure than I can bear without breaking down.

“Dear love to your Father—Ever your grateful,
“ST. C.”*

Letters, such as the foregoing, surely prove that while he in no degree departed from the position he originally had taken—in giving a perhaps too forceful expression to a deep-rooted conviction—he nevertheless was fully convinced in his own mind of the truth of his opinion regarding Mr. Gladstone from a political standpoint, and only regretted that the expression of the opinion should have come under the notice of those immediately concerned at an earlier date than he would have conveniently liked, and thereby caused doubt or pain, inasmuch as it may have affected their feelings of regard for him as a friend or caused them to have doubts as to his sincerity and regard for them. This was the only difference of opinion, or perhaps it would be more correct to say the only speck on the horizon of love that Mr. Ruskin experienced with his charming and accomplished correspondent. His love was too sincere for his friends at Hawarden to allow any differences to separate them, and it is borne out in the whole series of letters written by Mr. Ruskin that his last words are expressions of love to Mr. Gladstone and all his family. Nothing did so much to cheer Mr. Ruskin in his fits of despondency as to have M. G. play to him. So much, at times, was he affected by her playing that he could not find words to express himself, and would content

* (St. Chrysostom (St. John the Golden-mouthed) the name given to Mr. Ruskin by his friend, Mrs. Cowper-Temple.)

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himself by saying again and again—"Thank you, thank you." Reference to letter XI, in *Time and Tide*, expresses his opinion on the power of music.

"Music is the nearest at hand, the most orderly, the most delicate and the most perfect of all bodily pleasures; it is the only one which is equally helpful to all the ages of men—helpful from the nurse's song to her infant, to the music, unheard of others, which so often haunts the deathbed of pure and innocent spirits."

Mr. Ruskin was always keenly devoted to music and was a music lover to the end of his days. Nothing delighted him more than the ballads of the "North Countree," which Mrs. Severn often sung to him. It will be remembered also that he took special pleasure in the Cathedral at Christ Church, in which he often roamed about alone listening to the magnificent organ. In one of his letters to M.G., referring to Browning, he says:

"He knows much of music, does he not? but I think he must like it mostly for its discords,"

—a remark with which many will agree to differ and think of it as one of Ruskin's perversities. While he wrote thus of Browning to Miss Gladstone it is well to remember that he praised him in his books (in the *Elements of Drawing* and Vol. IV of *Modern Painters*),

"For every sentence he wrote of the Middle Ages is always right and profoundly true."

Miss Gladstone pleased Mr. Ruskin greatly by thinking of him in Browning's words; the words used by Paracelsus in regard to Aprile had, she thought, a significant application:

"How he stands
With eve's last sunbeam staying on his hair
Which turns to it as if they were akin;
And those clear smiling eyes of saddest blue
Nearly set free, so far they rise above
The painful fruitless striving of the brow,

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And enforced knowledge of the lips, firm set
In slow despondency's eternal sigh!
Has he too missed life's end, and learned the cause?"

Those who were privileged to see or visit Mr. Ruskin are not likely ever to forget "those clear smiling eyes of saddest blue." They were remarkable in a high degree and always arrested attention. A story is told of Mr. Ruskin on one occasion visiting a sick child; he bent over her and, he says,

"who wasn't usually by way of paying me compliments *did* once say 'Those eyes,' after looking into them for awhile."

The child was giving but brief voluntary expression to child-like wonder at a sight which never failed to arrest the attention of children of a later day. Even in his old age his eye was not dim, but was as clear, beautiful and bright as it had been in other years.

In his Lecture on "Burne-Jones and Watts," delivered at Oxford on 12th May, 1883, Mr. Ruskin refers to the portrait of Miss Mary Gladstone which the former had finished

"in subdued pencil light and shade, and in which you will see the painter's best powers stimulated to their utmost, and reaching a serene depth of expression unattainable by photography, and nearly certain to be lost in finished drawing."

In writing to M.G., Mr. Ruskin, in returning thanks for a copy of the drawing, says—

"He never did anything else like it."

The reproduction of this portrait, as seen in the little book, is remarkable alike for the beauty of drawing and the expression of the eyes particularly.

Although we find Mr. Ruskin writing to his correspondent as

"My darling M.——," and saying, 'you know good writing and feeling as well as I do, and we are not likely to differ a jot about anything else,'"

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it is the fact they did differ about something else, and it was on the occasion when M. G. wrote and told Mr. Ruskin she was about to get married and, of course, asked for his blessing.

The following is his humorous reply :—

“29th December, 1885.

“Darling M.—,

“Bless you? Blest if I do; I'll give you absolution, if you come and ask it very meekly, but don't you know how I hate girls marrying curates? You must come directly and play me some lovely tunes,—it's the last chance you'll have of doing anything to please me, for I don't like married women; I like sibyls and children and vestals and so on. Not that I mean to quarrel with you, if you'll come now and make it up. If you can leave your father at all—sooner or later by a day or two doesn't matter, or a day or two out of what you have left (I had rather you waited till crocus or anemone time, for we're about ugliest just now). As for F.—, she was a horrid traitress, but *you* have been very faithful to me through all my wicked sayings about papa (I can tell you there would have been a word or two more if you hadn't been in the way). As for the poverty and cottage and all the rest of that nonsense, do you think you'll get any credit in heaven for being poor when you fall in love first? If you had married a conscientious Bishop, and made *him* live in a pig sty—*a la bonne heure!*

“Ever your loving and too forgiving,

“ST. C.”

And again by way of explanation :—

“I didn't mean, and never have thought, that girls were higher or holier than wives—Heaven forbid. I merely said I liked them better, which, surely, is extremely proper of me.”

And, finally, writing of Carlyle to M. G. in February, 1881, and his belief in a brighter world, another life than this, he uses these beautiful words :—

“The death of Carlyle is no sorrow to me. It is, I believe, not an end—but a beginning of his real life. Nay, perhaps, also of mine. My remorse, every day he lived, for not having enough loved him in the days gone by, is not greater now, but less, in the hope that he knows what I am feeling about him at this and all other moments.”

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To conclude. Ruskin, writing in the preface of *Arrows of the Chace*, remarks,

"I never wrote a letter in my life which all the world are not welcome to read if they will,"

and this, it may be said, was no idle boast. Of few great writers can the same claim be made, for some of the saddest chapters of literary history are composed of letters which should never have been penned, or at least published. Letter-writing is nowadays, it is to be feared, a lost art; for really great letter-writers must be men of large leisure. Ruskin had the saving grace and virtue in that he wrote only when he had something to say; thus it is, read where you will in his letters and books, you will always find interesting and stimulating thought on matters of the most profound character, on art and morals affecting the highest interests of life. For this fact we cannot be too proud nor can we emphasize it too strongly: Ruskin never prostituted his great gifts to serve any ignoble or unworthy end. Born in circumstances peculiarly fitted to nurture a great and gifted spirit, he early found his work in the world, and steadily pursued it to the end; to make for others a world better to live in and full of hope; forever

"thinking on whatsoever things are pure, and lovely, and of good report."

His message, whether we find it in his letters or in his books, was, is, and will be found helpful to all who read and study aright, for like the prophets of old he held his great gifts as a sacred trust for the advancement of God's Kingdom.

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The Works of John Ruskin. Edited by E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn. Library Edition. Vol. VII. London: George Allen. £1 1s. net.



HE latest volume in the collected edition of Ruskin's works contains the fifth and concluding volume of *Modern Painters*. The third and fourth volumes originally appeared in 1856, the fifth appeared in 1860, and the four intervening years were crowded with many diverse activities which appeared to Ruskin more important at the moment than the completion of *Modern Painters*. Mr. Cook's *Introduction* contains a careful account of these activities, and records his travels and studies in Switzerland in 1856, in France and Scotland in 1857, in Switzerland and Italy in 1858, and in Yorkshire, Germany and France in 1859. The extracts from letters and diaries give a fair idea of Ruskin's interests and studies during these travels, and the dominant feeling must be one of wonder and admiration at his extraordinary capacity for work. He did indeed plan many books which were never written, but those which he completed would have been a monument to his industry had he passed his life at them in his study, whereas they represent only one aspect of one of the fullest of lives. During the four years the *Introduction* to the volume under notice deals with (1856-1860) Ruskin's activities included, in addition to his studies and sketches abroad, the preparation and delivery of many important lectures and addresses, which included the *Political Economy of Art*, the *Work of Iron*, *Imagination in Architecture*, and many others; the writing of *Elements of Drawing*; the great task of arranging the Turner bequest at the National Gallery, and the writing of this fifth volume of *Modern Painters*.

In drawing to a conclusion the scheme of *Modern Painters* Ruskin had intended in the final volume to deal with Beauty of

Water, of Vegetation and of Sky, and then with Ideas of Relation. But in order to finish his task within one more volume a considerable modification of the scheme was necessary. The section on Sea Beauty was given up, and the others were greatly curtailed. Ruskin frequently said, quite truly, that the work had no conclusion. We cannot within the limits of the present notice follow in any detail the contents of the fifth volume. But one or two points should, perhaps, be emphasized.

Between the appearance of the first and of the last volumes of *Modern Painters* seventeen years intervened. The mission Ruskin had set out to accomplish had been amply fulfilled before the book was completed. The greatness of Turner was acknowledged, his fame vindicated. And the man to whom this result was due had attained an incontestible position, not only as the interpreter of the genius of Turner, but as a philosopher who applied the principles of beauty to influence every-day life and conduct. It is in this latter respect, it appears to us, that the greatest value of the book lies. The vindication of Turner becomes insignificant before the greater achievements of the work;—the interpretation of so much of the beauty of the earth, the personal application of its lessons for the influence of human life and conduct, the noble and wise teaching conveyed in language of perfect purity with which every chapter of the book is charged, the inspiration the author gives to every national, as to every individual impulse for good, the solemn warning, as of the old seer, of the evil tendencies of the times, the results of which he saw so vividly.

Many passages in *Modern Painters* seem to possess a special significance to-day in view of many national movements. Could not the following, for example, be considered with great advantage in connection with the noisy disputations which mark our party politics of to-day?

“The choice is no vague nor doubtful one. High on the desert mountain, full descried, sits throned the tempter, with his old promise—the kingdoms of this world, and the glory of them. He still calls

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you to your labour, as Christ to your rest;—labour and sorrow, base desire, and cruel hope. So far as you desire to possess, rather than to give; so far as you look for power to command, instead of to bless; so far as your own prosperity seems to you to issue out of contest or rivalry, of any kind, with other men, or other nations; so long as the hope before you is for supremacy instead of love; and your desire is to be greatest, instead of least;—first, instead of last;—so long you are serving the Lord of all that is last, and least;—the last enemy that shall be destroyed—Death; and you shall have death's crown, with the worm coiled in it; and death's wages, with the worm feeding on them; kindred of the earth shall you yourself become; saying to the grave, 'Thou art my father'; and to the worm, 'Thou art my mother and my sister.'


"I leave you to judge, and to choose, between this labour, and the bequeathed peace; these wages, and the gift of the Morning Star; this obedience, and the doing of the will which shall enable you to claim another kindred than that of the earth, and to hear another voice than that of the grave, saying, 'My brother, and sister, and mother.'"

We look forward to the time when much of the teaching contained in *Modern Painters* will be rendered more accessible to the multitude. This will hardly be accomplished to the degree we wish by even very cheap editions of the complete work, for there is much in it to repel the layman in art, or the reader whose general mental equipment prevents him travelling in step with his great guide. Nor would a series of short extracts from the book—"purple patches"—meet the end we have in view. What is wanted is perhaps for certain phases of Ruskin's teaching to be brought together and issued separately. One instance may suffice. Volume VIII contains a chapter entitled, "Of Vulgarity." It is one of the noblest that the work contains, full of lessons of highest importance to all. It is complete in itself, and could be taken from the context without loss to itself. It is such passages as these that we should like to see made generally accessible instead of remaining in large measure the joy of the cultured student, and we believe that their general knowledge would constitute an influence for good of incalculable importance.

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The illustrations to Volume VIII are unusually numerous, comprising 36 plates and over 100 woodcuts. Of special interest are the photogravure reproductions of Dürer's "Knight and Death" and "Melancholia," with Ruskin's suggestive interpretation of their symbolism. The *Introduction* is by Mr. E. T. Cook, and is marked by the scholarly care which has characterized all his editorial work in connection with this monumental edition.

Model Factories and Villages: Ideal Conditions of Labour and Housing. By Budget Meakin. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1905. 7s. 6d.

 HIS book contains an account of the steps which have been taken in America, England, and at a few places on the Continent, by certain private firms to promote the welfare of their employés. It is in many respects a useful and suggestive book. It relates what has been done to improve conditions of labour during recent years in the matters of Social Relations, Buildings, Meals, Recreation, Education, etc. It is a delicate task, and must appear a somewhat ungracious one, to criticize the influence of a book which deals enthusiastically with such subjects as these; and to avoid misunderstanding let us hasten to say that for the most part we feel nothing but admiration for the efforts which this book records for the improvement of the conditions of factory life. No friend of labour can do other than wish God-speed to all wise and genuine attempts having such an object.

But the book in question must be considered in relation to its own purpose,—the description of "ideal" conditions of Labour and Housing,—and it is here that it fails. It is hard to resist the conclusion that the author in describing the improvements

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introduced into their factories by a comparatively few firms, here and abroad, has lost sight of the greater labour movement, and sees in the example of these firms the solution of all our industrial troubles. The point of view from which the book is written is that of one who regards the present system of private ownership of the industries of the nation as the normal, right, and eternal order of things. The workpeople are to be well housed and fed and to work under healthy conditions, but their final business in life is to be the factory "hands," just as it is the capitalists' to be the owners of the factory and to take the profits. We have reached a higher view than this to-day; and whilst gladly welcoming every step calculated to make our factory life healthier and happier, we look forward to that greater emancipation of labour, already begun, when the suffering and despair, the poverty and cruelty, possible under our present industrial system, shall have been swept away before a fuller national life; when the workers will have received a fair partnership in the fruits of their labours; when industrial co-operation, in a broad and true sense, shall have been substituted for a system under which the workers are invariably exploited by the capitalist and the investor.

There is no adequate reference in the book to the social and educational work of the Co-operative Societies, nor to the example afforded by the various enterprises in which the workers are joint sharers in the profits. But our strongest criticism must be directed against the author's tone towards Trades Unions. He entirely fails to recognize the great work these have accomplished for the cause of labour. A comparatively recent movement, with the removal of great evils as its main objective, must inevitably give rise at times to trenchant and well-merited criticism. But the influence of the Unions has been, on the whole, nobly used for the best interests alike of the worker and the nation, and the critical attitude adopted towards them by the author reveals what is the great weakness of his book—the fact that it is written entirely from the employer's standpoint, and that therefore the

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picture it gives us is neither complete nor adequate. Mr. Meakin, for instance, gives us an account of the relations of the National Cash Register Company of America with their Union workpeople, and relates a story of tyranny on the part of the latter, which is obviously one-sided. It is the account supplied by the Company. Before we are asked to judge, the account of the Trades Unions and men concerned should be given.

We must note, too, that reference is made in the book to the protection given by the Unions to the idle and incompetent by fixing a limit for output. It is time that this argument, the hollowness of which has been exposed again and again, was abandoned. The system of piece work means in many factories that the worker has to perform a mechanical task at a feverish and unhealthy pace in order to earn a small wage and retain his post. Where Unions have introduced a limit to output, it has been with perfectly honest intentions to protect the health, even the lives themselves, of the otherwise weak and defenceless.

We turn with more satisfaction to the account which the author gives of Industrial Housing, and for the most part we support his proposals. Where, however, a village is founded by private enterprise, it should be a free village—as, for instance, Bournville. We cannot endorse the sympathetic account which is given of Port Sunlight, where the people engaged at Messrs. Lever's works live in cottages provided for them and pay a much smaller rent than these are worth. If, however, a man leaves the factory for any cause whatever, he has to clear out of his home also. It needs not many words to shew how such an arrangement may place the workman at the mercy of his employer.

Mr. Meakin has brought together a great quantity of valuable information, and it is our deep sympathy with the movement he chronicles which leads us to make these criticisms. His book is both timely and useful.

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Life, Letters and Literary Remains of J. H. Shorthouse. Edited by his wife. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1905. 2 vols. 17s. net.

THE author of *John Inglesant* lived a quiet and for the most part uneventful life. The account of it which is now given to the world by Mrs. Shorthouse must possess a considerable interest to the lovers of one of the most beautiful philosophical romances in the languages. We are given the record of the quiet life of an English gentleman, who, prevented by delicate health from engaging in public life, devoted his leisure hours mainly to his favourite studies of theology and philosophy, and to the writing of his stories. It can hardly be stated that the book gives us a very much fuller revelation of the character and personality of Mr. Shorthouse than is contained in *John Inglesant*, for his character and teaching found their highest and best expression in that work, and the result may be that some disappointment will be found in this record of his life. It has however been prepared with loving care, and it avoids the mistake of many modern biographies of being unduly long. The actual narrative of the life occupies, comparatively, only a small portion of the first volume, the bulk of which is devoted to Mr. Shorthouse's letters. Of these, perhaps, too many are given of insufficient interest to warrant their inclusion. Others, however, are of real value in helping us to a fuller understanding of the man and his work.

Until the publication of *John Inglesant* Mr. Shorthouse was unknown save to the circle of his friends and acquaintances. The book brought him instant fame. It appealed to the most divergent minds and all gave it enthusiastic appreciation. Mr. Gladstone and many other eminent men of the day made his acquaintance. He found himself a notable and admired writer. Mrs. Shorthouse makes no attempt to give any criticism of *John Inglesant*, or any account of its teaching, or any analysis of the

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reasons which caused it to make so wide and immediate an appeal. She merely records the facts as to the publication of the book. But the letters which are given from Mr. Shorthouse to the many correspondents who wrote to him about the book in part meet this omission. Some of them enable us to realize better what the author meant to teach in a book capable of more than one interpretation. His dominant idea was to exalt culture and to protest against every kind of fanaticism, "including the fanaticism of work; to exalt the unpopular doctrine that the end of existence is not the good of one's neighbour, but one's own culture." Here we have a reflection of the author's own outlook on life. He had an antipathy against what is ordinarily understood as public life. Social schemes and work interested him hardly at all. In some measure his book marked a re-action against the social atmosphere of his day, and like the results of all re-actions it went to another extreme. The danger of the philosophy of *John Inglesant* is that it tends to make Christianity too much a matter of intellectual belief, too difficult to be understood by ordinary folk. After all, one may think too much of his soul, with the result that he regards dogmatic belief as of chief importance. Surely there should come first the test of a man's conduct and deeds—the test of what he is. For our own part we are content for many theological and philosophical disputations to go by, and for men to seek instead to do the duty which lies at their hand, concerning which there need rarely be doubt. But whatever personal view we may take as to the philosophy of *John Inglesant* can affect in no degree our love for the book. The purity and grace of its prose, the dramatic interest of the story itself, the wide and scholarly research shewn on every page, the naturalness of the historical atmosphere, the human interest of the character of Inglesant, the spiritual elevation at which the story is written, all these qualities have deservedly secured for *John Inglesant* a great and enduring place in English literature.

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Albert Durer. By T. Sturge Moore. London: Duckworth & Co. 1905. 7s. 6d.

MR. Sturge Moore has made an interesting and valuable contribution to Durer literature. He has obviously made a long and loving study of Durer's complex character and varied work, and has strenuously sought to understand, interpret and evaluate these without bias or hero-worship. He has, moreover, avoided anything like that merely popular appeal which characterises so many recent books on art. The growing popular demand for works on art is one of the most cheering signs of our time. It is a natural result of higher education—acquired independently, for the most part, for our schools and universities do but little to form or foster it; and of a natural reaction against the materialism of modern life—a reaction kindred in its ultimate aim—the satisfaction of the higher nature of man—to that which has produced the recent unprecedented output of works on nature and gardening. The weakness of the demand is that it seeks for books instead of immediate and personal contact with art or nature, and that its appetite for books is more conspicuous by its voracity than by its discriminating taste. Mr. Sturge Moore's book is both a stimulus to direct personal study of art and a corrective to the reading of the uncritical studies of others—as such alone it would be valuable.

Mr. Moore informs us, in his Preface, that his work “is not the result of new research; nor is it an abstract resuming historical and critical discoveries on its subject up to date,” but “an appreciation of this great artist in relation to general ideas.” Could any prefatory statement make one more eager to read his book? We have had more than enough of that indiscriminate research which has made Shakespeare its special object—the search for the unimportant conducted from points of view, deliberately chosen, from which Shakespeare himself can be seen only on the extreme horizon; and there are quite sufficient resumé's of the current know-

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ledge of most subjects to suit our present needs. Mr. Moore's intention of getting back to general ideas and principles, and of appreciating in the light of these what is most characteristic and vital in the life and work of Durer, is worthy of the highest praise, and commands our sympathy even where we agree with him least.

The sections into which Mr. Moore has divided his book will best indicate his method of treatment. It contains four parts: I—Concerning general ideas important to the comprehension of Durer's life and art (the Idea of Proportion and the Influence of Religion on the Creative Impulse); II—Durer's life in relation to the times in which he lived; III—Durer as a Creator (a study of his pictures, portraits, drawings, etc.); IV—Durer's Ideas. All these sections are full of interest; far from free, of course, from controversial matter—else the book would not be worth the reading—but possessing the somewhat rare merit of inviting controversy only, or at least generally, on what is of real importance. We do not propose to enter upon a detailed examination of Mr. Moore's presentment of his subject or of his opinions and judgments; but a word must be said on what is, perhaps, the most valuable and original part of his book—his investigation of the idea of proportion and of the influence of religion on the creative impulse.

To Mr. Moore, art is not a matter of individual temperament, nor is it to be confused with science or with specialist enquiries into doubtful authorship. In judging works of art (and, by implication, in creating them)

“we must be governed by (the) sense of proportion, which measures how things stand in regard to reason; that is, not merely intellect, not merely emotion, but the alliance of both by means of the imagination in aid of man's most central demand—the demand for nobler life.”

This, he continues,

“is the assertion of the sovereignty of the æsthetic conscience on exactly the same grounds as sovereignty is claimed for the moral conscience. Aesthetics deals with the morality of appeals addressed to the senses. That is, it estimates the success of such appeals in regard to the promotion of fuller and harmonious life.”

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This, at first sight, conveys the impression that Mr. Moore's ideal of a picture gallery is a kind of church wherein the sermon is seen instead of heard. We are almost prepared to hear next that the purpose of art is to point a moral. And yet we soon read that

"loyalty is the only virtue (art) insists on, loyalty in regard to her servants' experience of beauty; he may be immoral in every other way and she not desert him . . . ;" "that a man says what he really means—shows us what he really thinks to be beautiful—is all that reason bids us ask for . . . ;" "though (a work of art) have no more significance than a glass of wine and a loaf of bread, if the eye is rejoiced by gazing on the paint that expresses them, it is a work of art and a fine achievement."

These two apparently contradictory points of view are, however, related to each other in a very subtle and winning way. We gather that art is, to Mr. Moore, a matter of individual temperament in search of the beautiful, and controlled or refined by religion in the best and widest sense, and by a wise selection from the proven artistic experience of the past. We entirely agree with him in this. These two chapters are, indeed, so good, that we should like much if Mr. Moore would expand them and illustrate his ideas by a wider reference to the history of art.

It need hardly be added that Mr. Moore's book is well written: a poet is generally careful of his prose. It is pervaded by a sincerity and seriousness which are very winning though marred, at times, by a tendency to degenerate into dull solemnity or into a naïveté which somehow does not ring true and therefore approaches the commonplace.

The illustrations are numerous, wisely chosen, and, as in all Messrs. Duckworth's art books, excellently reproduced.

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Racial Supremacy: Being Studies in Imperialism. By John George Godard. Edinburgh: Geo. A. Morton. 6s.

IF the British public were as eager to read what intimately concerns its welfare as it is to read what currently passes for (and caricatures) fiction, Mr. Godard's able book would certainly command wide sale and influence. He has no illusions on the nature and effects of Imperialism. He is steeped in the history and the polemics of his subject; but he is not overwhelmed by them: his eyes and his mind are clear. He possesses, moreover, the courage of his opinions and the power to express them with vigour and appealing conviction.

The volume is based on a series of articles contributed to the *Westminster Review*. These have been revised and expanded so as to constitute a new work dealing with the main aspects of Imperialism: its nature and products; Liberalism and Imperialism; Commercialism and Imperialism; Ecclesiasticism and Imperialism; the Ethics of Empire; the burden of Empire. The author claims that while each of these studies "is substantially independent of the others, their dominant thesis is the same, they are united by a continuity of purpose, and taken collectively they embody an attempt to present a fairly comprehensive survey of modern Imperialism." The author has succeeded in achieving this. His book is no mere exercise in vituperation. It condemns Imperialism in unsparing terms, but condemnation is everywhere based upon broad ethical principles and fortified by reference to concrete facts. The absolute sincerity of many convinced Imperialists is frankly recognised; and this partly accounts for the conclusiveness with which Mr. Godard disproves their contentions and the basis on which they rest. The author is also fully alive to the inadequacy of purely destructive criticism. He recognises that Imperialism, though it be wrong in theory and indefensible in practice, has entailed great responsibilities upon the modern world. A policy of immediate and absolute relinquish-

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ment of the authority exercised over subject races he rightly regards as impossible and likely to lead to still greater evils.

"If despotism is a bad thing, if benevolence neither justifies nor characterises it, obviously the only legitimate general aim is to secure its abrogation; and interim administration must promote this object. In other words, the best way to govern another race is to teach it to govern itself; to educate it (if not already sufficiently educated) up to the point of autonomy; to develop in it the capacity to appreciate, utilise and justify free institutions; and gradually to accord to it greater liberty until the last vestige of alien rule shall disappear."

Mr. Godard's volume will doubtless serve as an authority of weight for many years to come.

Vers et Prose. Recueil trimestriel de littérature. Tome I. Mars, 1905. Paris: 24 rue Boissonade.

WHETHER any one at all conversant with recent and contemporary French literature this publication will prove of interest as an attempt to infuse new life into that Symbolist school which has produced so much excellent work during the last twenty years. The precursors of the school—Villiers de l'Isle Adam, Mallarmé and Verlaine—are all still too little known in England; and of the living writers of the school Maeterlinck alone may be said to have an English public. And yet Maeterlinck is only one of a round dozen of poets and prose-writers each of whom deserves equal attention. Some of these—Maeterlinck himself, Henri de Régnier, Emile Verhaeren, Jean Moréas, Stuart Merrill, Albert Mockel, and others—contribute to the present issue. No complete idea of the work of the school as a whole, or of the individual members of it (each of whom has a strong personality and a mode of expression all his own) can be obtained from one issue of *Vers et Prose*; but few could read de Régnier's *La Lampe*, Verhaeren's *A la Gloire du Vent*, or Moréas' *Prologue d'Ajax*, without feeling that it must be good to know more of these poets and their fellows. To such we

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heartily commend *Vers et Prose*—together with a copy of the catalogue of the *Mercur de France* and of that excellent anthology, the *Poètes d'Aujourd'hui* (1880-1900), compiled by Van Bever and Léautaud. There is no reason why the Anglo-French alliance should be confined to politics.

We wish M. Paul Fort (whose position as an able and original poet is already firmly established) every success in his venture. If *Vers et Prose* continues to stand, as he declares it shall stand, for the "defence and illustration of higher literature and of lyricism in prose and in poetry": if it avoids, that is, the narrow spirit and the violent polemics which have too often rendered similar journals ineffective, the quarter-days will have a new interest and a new surprise for many.

Each quarterly part of *Vers et Prose* is to contain from 120 to 128 pages. The annual subscription is eight francs.

The House in the Woods. By Arthur Henry. London: D. Nutt. 1905. 5s. net.

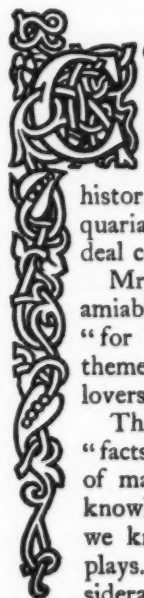
NATURE is taking a full revenge for past neglect. She has her literatures of power and knowledge and cant, and floods with them a penitent market. Most of the varieties can be illustrated from the American invaders. We catch the same shibboleths in very different tones—sometimes the deep call of earth, sometimes the falsetto of the man of letters. Sometimes we catch the real savours of the country, more often "the pouncet box of culture" which the author holds "betwixt the wind and his nobility."

This book has the first requisite of nature-writing—sincerity;—and the author is a true lover of his own countryside, his dog, and his fellow-men. It is the story of the realised dream of a town-dweller who longed for a country life. When his illusions vanished, they were lost in the sunshine of a happier day, which he was strong enough to bear and enjoy. The "rural retirement"

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proved at once impossible and selfish, and he learned to take his place in the new society. The author makes both country and people very real and attractive. His style has a simple refinement, seldom forced, while the occasional Americanisms add piquancy. Here and there an Englishman would be glad of an explanatory note—not many of us know anything about chores and chipmunks. The photographic illustrations are very effective in deepening the feeling of reality. The print and binding are admirable; altogether a first-rate holiday book.

William Shakespeare: His Family and Friends. C. I. Elton, K.C.
London: John Murray. 1904. 15s. net.



OMPREHENSIVE as the title seems to be, it does not give a fair idea of the contents of this learned book. It is a collection of antiquarian essays chosen from among the papers left by Mr. Elton at his death. Mr. Elton was a tireless student in dusty by-ways of history and literature: but with him as with most antiquarians the zest of collecting outweighed the impulse to deal constructively with the collections.

Mr. Andrew Lang writes a pleasant sketch of his friend's amiable and prosperous life, and ends with the belief that "for once his erudition and acuteness are expended on a theme which does not interest special students alone, but all lovers of English literature."

This belief we find ourselves unable to share. The "facts" about Shakspeare can hardly come within the interest of many lovers of literature, till some scholar comes with knowledge and power greater than that shown in any book we know, and shows their relevance to the writer of the plays. On the other hand, Mr. Elton's essays have considerable interest to the student in their memorials of

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contemporary life ; they give very reliable help in imagining the society of Shakspeare's day. After a careful summary of "facts and traditions relating to Shakspeare's early life," we get antiquarian collections relating to the places connected—by "fact and tradition"—with his name:—Stratford, Snitterfield, Wilmcote, Rowington. The interest of the remaining chapters will best be gathered from the titles: "Midland Agriculture and Natural History in Shakspeare"; "Landmarks on the Stratford Road, and in London, 1586-1616"; "Shakspeare's Descendants"; "Illustrations of Shakspeare in the 17th century" (a very interesting set of quotations from the *Epistolæ Ho-eliæ*, from Ward, Dowdall, Aubrey, etc.). The last section is devoted to the "Production of *The Tempest*," which is interpreted to include many details of theatrical history, only remotely connected with Shakspeare, but valuable in any attempt to reconstruct his epoch, and throwing many a useful sidelight.

If he had lived, Mr. Elton would no doubt have made these essays more than the "nucleus of an exhaustive work on Shakspeare": as it is they are hardly that, but rather the material which might, given a focus in his mind, have risen to the dignity of a "nucleus."

A word of gratitude must be added to the editor for the references, which must have involved considerable labour, and add greatly to the value of the book for the student or antiquary. The student of the Shakspeare "facts and traditions" is bound to verify his references, especially when his guides are always quarrelling. Most lovers of literature (*pace* Mr. Lang) will do well to leave them alone.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF WORKING MEN.

The following appeal has been issued for the Association recently formed to promote the Higher Education of Working Men. It requires no words of ours to commend it to the consideration of our readers.

"We invite your consideration of the aims, methods, and needs of 'The Association to Promote the Higher Education of Working Men,' which has during the past two years, by the aid of very limited funds and of voluntary assistance, supplied for the most part by working men and by their organisations, successfully accomplished work all but national in scope, and wholly national in character.

I.

"For many years past various agencies have been actively at work charged with the civic, economic, and technical education of the working classes. On the one hand there are the University Extension Movement, the National Home Reading Union, and the Working Men's Colleges; on the other hand there are the working class movements, such as the Co-operative, the Trade Union, and the Club and Institute. The working men who determined upon the foundation of the Association, were strongly impressed by the need for better co-ordination of these and similar movements for Educational purposes.

"We believe that the present time affords special opportunity for such co-ordination. There is an increasing evidence of the earnest desire on the part of working people for education, not only for technical education, but liberal education. Working people, in the several conferences organised by the Association, have pleaded not for 'bread and butter' education, but for 'Education for its own sake,'—liberal education.

"It must be admitted, however, that the great bulk of working people realise no need for education. Hence it is necessary for an effort to be made to awaken a sense of the need, and to stimulate the demand for liberal education. This is a work which is missionary in character, and which therefore requires a measure of independent financial support, but it is work which can only be done by those who have intimate personal knowledge of the circumstances bearing upon the problem.

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II.

"The method of approach actually dealing with the local aspects of the problem is largely determined by Local Branches, which are representative of all the interests concerned, and act under the guidance of the Central and Sectional Committees. These Branches are organised by the working men themselves, in co-operation with University and other educationists. For example, the Branch at Reading, which has just completed a highly successful first session, was initiated by the local Co-operative Society. The Executive Committee consists of eight representative workmen acting together with the Principal of University College, and the Secretary to the Local Authority. The official statement of the aims of the Branch thus state the nature of the work which has been entrusted to it.

"The Association shall endeavour to realise the purpose of its foundation in the following principal ways:—

"(a.) By encouraging and supporting, so far as it is able, the work of the evening classes under the Reading Education Committee.

"(b.) By encouraging and supporting, so far as it is able, the work of the evening classes held at the University College.

"(c.) By endeavouring to stimulate and promote the interest of the working classes in liberal studies such as history, literature, art, science, citizenship, and music.

"(d.) By making such representations as may seem desirable to the local authorities concerned on matters pertaining to all forms of education.

"In organising this effort the Association shall take account of, and co-operate with, as far as may be possible, similar work carried on by the University College and other local educational institutions.

"The Association shall be definitely non-sectarian and non-political."

"Other and similar Branches have during the present year been organised, or are in the course of formation over a wide area, at such diverse towns as Derby, Woolwich, Ilford, Darwen, Bolton, Rochdale, and Torquay. A rapid extension of the work appears to be imminent.

III.

"The Association desires to establish—

"1. A Central Office, and to appoint,

"2. An Organising Secretary,

"in order that (a) an efficient link may be provided between the branches with a view to concerted effort and unity of aim; (b) That

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the work of propaganda, enquiry, and publication, may be efficiently carried on, and (c) That the poorest and least educated groups of workpeople may be brought into contact with the Association.

"Believing these steps to be necessary, we desire to endorse the Association's appeal for a guarantee fund of £500 per annum maintained over a period of five years. It is evident that a work of this magnitude and growing extent, cannot be wholly undertaken by an Honorary Secretary, who for the greater part of his time is otherwise employed. It must be remembered that the increase of Local Branches will, at the outset, prove a great, though necessary strain upon the finances of the Association, the more so as many subscriptions which at the outset were paid directly to the Association, will naturally be diverted to the Local Associations as the latter are formed.

"The success of the work of the Association depends upon a vigorous propaganda being carried on from the Central Office, and maintained for a period of years, freed from undue financial difficulty.

"It is desirable that its work should not, through lack of sufficient funds, be too narrowly restricted to those localities, where there are considerable numbers of working men in a position to contribute liberally towards its support. The propagandist work of the Association is especially needed in districts where there is at present less prospect of local support."

(Signed) MICHAEL E. SADLER.
SAMUEL BARNETT.
C. BIRMINGHAM.
THOMAS BURT.

"THE HEART
OF THE
EMPIRE" AGAIN.

"With Ireland discontented, decaying, and despondent, the heart cannot be sound; and we appeal to all whose ideal is the permanence and progress of the Empire, to find a remedy for the disease gnawing at its core." It is good indeed to see so many eyes being removed from the ends of the earth (where, we are told on good authority, they gaze in sorry company). Specially good to see the appeal made to those whose standard of thought is imperial. Lord Dunraven has put the case for Ireland—as the Irish Reform Association conceives it—in a spirited pamphlet, which sets out in the most accessible form, the material for judgment of Ireland as she is:

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with the proposals now better abused than understood under the name "devolution." With the detailed proposals we have at present little to do; they will at no distant date come into the arena of ordinary political discussion. So far their chief political importance has lain—the fate of all measures that concern Ireland's welfare, if they escape a quick oblivion—in the intrigues and quarrels of extreme politicians. It is part of Ireland's ill-luck that her past history and present needs should be too little considered, while her politics claim so unfortunately large a share of public attention. The Land Act of 1903 and the sympathetic figure of Mr. Wyndham have done much to redress both the actual grievances and the ill-balance of opinion. As to the attack on Sir Antony MacDonnell, an assailant in the *National Review* counts all but two out of twenty-one Under-Secretaries as "more or less traitors to the Ascendency cause": a fact far more significant than the writer meant it to be. In truth moderate public opinion is steadily coming round to the view of nearly all the experts, that the present system of Irish government is both extravagant and unsuccessful. As Lord Dunraven's proposals are the only substitute at present formulated, it behoves all who care for the heart of the empire to be acquainted with them at first hand. Perhaps the most valuable part of the pamphlet is that which gives the statistics which show how rapidly Ireland is working out her unnatural process of the survival of the unfittest: a terrible record of wastage. It should surely give pause to those who are inclined hastily to judge racial characteristics, without knowing that the passing years leave their mark for good or evil on the development of a race just as of a man. Lord Dunraven is peculiarly well-fitted to appeal to the temperament of both countries. To the Irishman he proves that the present state of affairs is wrong; to the Englishman that it is bad business.

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"WRONG-
HEADED"
CRITICISM OF
SHAKSPERE.

Shakspere criticism continues to be wonderful both in quantity and variety. We have just read these words: "the average reader thinks of him as a gifted barbarian who took *Nature* as his model, and owed as little as possible to *art*." We had almost thought that the long series of great critics, from Coleridge to A. C. Bradley, had driven out even this modified version of the Voltairean dictum. The "artless" theory was simply the result of the application of petrified standards: its very gradual conquest by a true inductive criticism has been, roughly speaking, the main current of progress. We have before us an extreme example of the "artful" theory. It so happens that at the same time as our last number appeared with a eulogy of Prof. Bradley's *Shaksperean Tragedy*, the critic of the *Times* selected the same book as a sample of "wrong-headed" criticism. We should have been glad of the opportunity for a detailed examination of a judgment so contrary to our own, especially as it was ably done: but must be content with brief reference to its main contention. We are told that the great danger of "romantic" criticism lies in thinking of dramatic characters as real persons, and submitting their motives to the same kind of examination as we should "Napoleon or our second cousins." There is much truth in this, a real danger of separating the characters from their author. It seems difficult to discard a set of cast iron principles without unconsciously adopting others of material only less inelastic: the romantic critics on the whole retained the deductive methods of the classical school, though of course on a far higher plane. But it is going much too far to make an absolute opposition between *historic* and *dramatic* persons as being the results of "wholly different forces." The difference between the sets of forces is obvious: it is their likeness which has escaped the critic. It is true that Shakspere's characters are Shakspere, inspired by his genius, made out of his experience, bound by his limits. But the dramatist's brain is itself the result of the same race-development as are all real people, and he rises in the

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scale of greatness only in so far as his experience embraces that of his race. His creative power is great only in so far as it is in accord with the facts of actually existing character, and its development in the real persons of the outside world. What the critic calls "confusion" between historic (or real) and dramatic, is not only inherent in the nature of things, but is the source of the significance of fiction. An inward concentration of race-experience (with its converse, insight into human nature) and the power to embody in fictitious characters, these are the ingredients of dramatic genius. This is nothing but the touchstone we apply in saying that such a character is "real," "convincing," and so on. Such characters will not be the same as any real personage, but they must be built upon the same principles. They are not only expressions of the dramatist, they are specimens of our race.

The character of Hamlet, chosen by the critic, is unfortunate for his case. One example will make the position clear. Mr. Bradley is chaffed for speculating "on what Hamlet was like before the curtain goes up." Whatever the truth and value of such speculations, it is pretty certain that for Shakspeare Hamlet existed before the rise of the curtain. He found in the character one of his most cherished outlets for self-expression: but it is unthinkable that his conception of such a character suddenly faced (as the curtain goes up) with hideous difficulties, did not contain as one of its minor elements the picture of the character in unclouded days. The poet's idea of his Hamlet's past is implicit in the poet's idea of his brief tragedy. The critic is content that Hamlet should act "absurdly" in order to allow Shakspeare "to express his many-sided self," too many sides at once. Professor Bradley is "wrong-headed" because he seeks to prove that these same actions are the right expression of another and greater side of Shakspeare, his power to materialise his interpretation of human character. Modern critics do well to maintain that Shakspeare was only human: they must not forget how human he was.

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G. F. WATTS. The Manchester Corporation have acted wisely and set a good example in organising a special G. F. Watts Exhibition. It follows fitly on the Ruskin Exhibition of last year. The Corporation is fortunate too in having on its Committee so capable a man as Mr. J. E. Pythian to set the Exhibition in order and edit the Handbook. A specialised exhibition of this kind does not baffle the mind by its largeness and variety; one does not feel on entering as though all the waves and the billows were gone over one: it is representative rather than cumulative, it is compassable in a single afternoon, and the impression it makes is all the deeper and more lasting because of its focussed unity and intensity. The exhibition covers the whole of Watts' artistic activity—it shows us the Wounded Heron, the first picture Watts exhibited at the Royal Academy when only 19 years of age, and it shows us the last just published work of that life which never shrank, as Robert Louis would say, from "beginning its folio," however few the days that remained, and never ceased to work its "utmost for the highest," never probably entertained the thought of giving up work any more than it entertained the thought of a baronetcy.

It is very suggestive at Manchester to pass from the masterpiece of Lord Leighton to these pictures of G. F. Watts. Both are consummate artists, both are wonderful colourists, but there is a contrast between the two which suggests at once the real power of Watts. That power in one word is aspiration. In Leighton there is perfect repose, serenity; what the painter wishes to say is said. With Watts one feels that the thought is greater than ever he can express. There are groanings that cannot be uttered, there are beauties and fair imaginings "that break thro' language and escape," there are thoughts that lie too deep for art. Lord Leighton was a Greek and painted men of flesh and blood; noble indeed but finite. Watts was a Celt and, as he himself says, painted ideas. It is this constant sense of the incarnation, if one may in all reverence use the phrase, which makes Watts great, which makes one, as one sees his pictures,

"To feel thro' all this earthly dress
Bright shoots of everlastingness."

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE.

[NOTE.—This is the second portion of a list which for the present will appear quarterly, with a view later to detailed classification for separate publication. It is not proposed to attempt a complete bibliography of the subjects in question, but to submit a selected list of books for the help and guidance of those engaged in education and other work amongst the young, or of students of these subjects. We invite criticisms and suggestions in order that the list may, as far as possible, be fairly representative of those works which have proved useful in practice.]

ADAMS, J. HERBARTIAN PSYCHOLOGY.

London, D. C. Heath. 1 vol. 3/6 net.

The secondary title gives a better clue to the contents, which are "a series of essays applying the psychology of Herbart." They are distinguished by a brightness very rare in educational books: wit and humour have gained for "John" a wide popularity. The book is not a systematic exposition of Herbart, and is not troubled much by psychology in its ordinary sense: but is content to be acute and refreshing.

BLOW, S. E. SYMBOLIC EDUCATION.

New York, Appleton & Co. 1 vol.

The aim of this book is to give truer insight into the deeper meanings of Froebel's principles as illustrated by the Mutter und Kose Lieder. A most suggestive chapter contrasts the teaching of Froebel with that of Rousseau and Pestalozzi, and shows how Froebel realises the truth that the child must be trained as part of a great whole, and not merely as an individual.

BOOLE, M. E. LECTURES ON THE LOGIC OF ARITHMETIC.

Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1 vol. 2/-.

A suggestive book for teachers.

FINDLAY, J. J. PRINCIPLES OF CLASS TEACHING.

London, Macmillan & Co. Ltd. 1902. 1 vol. 5/-.

A careful and methodical study, based closely on practice. Its standpoint is in the main Herbartian, but modified by the requirements of English schools. It would be hard to find a better and more interesting example of English Herbartianism in practice.

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FROEBEL, FR. THE EDUCATION OF MAN.

Translated by W. N. Hailmann, A.M. International Education Series.
New York, D. Appleton & Co. 1 vol. \$1.50.

This gives us the theory on which Froebel's whole system is based. It shows the characteristics of child life in its different periods, and deals with man in earliest childhood, in boyhood, and as a scholar. Then follow, a discussion on the chief groups of instruction, the connection between school and family, and the methods of imparting instruction. The whole concludes with the statement of the aim of education, *i.e.*, all-sided development and creative freedom.

FROEBEL, FR. MOTHERS' SONGS, GAMES AND STORIES.

London, W. Rice. 1885. 1 vol. 2/6.

Collection of Pictures, Songs, Mottoes, and Author's Notes. The Pictures and Songs illustrate the life of a country child, and show how to use ordinary surroundings as means of education, based on the threefold relationship of the child to Nature, to Humanity, and to God. Froebel's explanations at the end are full of illuminating ideas, and show us something of the deep meaning of children's play. A series of enlarged pictures are published for use with the children.

FROEBEL, FR. PEDAGOGICS OF THE KINDERGARTEN.

Translated by Josephine Jarvis. International Education Series.
New York, D. Appleton & Co. 1 vol. \$1.50.

Froebel's own directions on the use of the first five gifts and the movement plays, beginning with a New Year's Meditation on the appeal "Come, let us live with our children," and ending with the story of How Lina learned to write and read.

HAYWARD, F. H. THE STUDENT'S HERBART.

London, Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1902. 1 vol. 1/6.

Hardly fulfils its title, but is a forcible introduction—at present the most accessible. Lays special stress on the ethical convictions which underlie the various forms of Herbartianism.

HERBART. SCIENCE OF EDUCATION.

Translated by H. and E. Felkin.
London, Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1892. 1 vol. 4/6.

Contains Biography of Herbart, an explanatory Introduction by the translators, a translation of "The Aesthetic Revelation of the World

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as the Chief Work of Education," and the "Science of Education," followed by chapters on the Aims of Education, the Government of Children, and why such government is needed, *i.e.*, to "create a spirit of order," the means to be used and dangers to be avoided, contrast of education with government, interest, the use of the old Greek stories, the formation of character, and the use of discipline.

HERFORD, W. H. THE STUDENTS' FROEBEL.

London, Isbister & Co., Ltd. 1896. 2 vols. 2/6 each.

A very useful book for those beginning the study of Froebel's life and work. It gives a clear account of both life and principles, and many quotations from Froebel's own writings. Vol. I deals with Theory; Vol. II with Practice.

HORSFALL, T. C. REFORMS NEEDED IN OUR SYSTEM OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

Manchester, J. E. Cornish. 1897. 6d.

Although published in 1897, and since that time some progress has been made in the direction of the reforms advocated, this pamphlet is still of value because of its wisdom and moderation. It was written with the idea of obtaining from the members of the Teachers' Guild an expression of opinion as to what alterations were necessary in order that the education received in our Elementary Schools might be such as to counteract the bad influence of the home and social life of so many of the children of the lower classes, and to give them nobler and more lasting interests.

KIRKPATRICK, E. A. FUNDAMENTALS OF CHILD STUDY.

London, Macmillan & Co. 1903. 1 vol. 5/-.

Clearly written and not overlaid with technical terms. One of the books on this subject recommended by the Froebel Society.

MARTINEAU, HARRIET. HOUSEHOLD EDUCATION.

London, Smith, Elder & Co. 1 vol.

Deals specially with the management of older children. The chief chapters are devoted to the Care of the Powers (Hope, Fear, Patience, Love, Veneration, Truthfulness), to Intellectual Training and to the Care of the Habits.

QUICK, R. H. ESSAYS ON EDUCATIONAL REFORMERS.

London, Longmans, Green & Co. 1898. 1 vol. 3/6.

This admirable book was first published in 1868, and met with no success except in reviews. But in America the book was appreciated,

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pirated by many firms, and achieved great success. In its English reprint it now has a wide circulation and influence. Most books on these subjects are badly written : Mr. Quick's engaging style makes his book as pleasant as it is profitable.

REIN, W. OUTLINES OF PEDAGOGICS.

Translated by C. C. and I. J. van Liew.

London, Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd. 1899. 1 vol. 3/-.

Professor Rein and his "pedagogic laboratory" at Jena are the centre of modern progress along Herbartian lines. This little book is an admirable systematic sketch of the position. It is a little unfortunate for English readers that the first half should be spent on an outline of the German educational system, especially in view of the changes in that system.

SADLER, MICHAEL E. IN WHAT SENSE OUGHT SCHOOLS TO PREPARE BOYS AND GIRLS FOR LIFE?

Birmingham, The Saint George Press, Bournville. 6d.

An essay full of the luminous wisdom, and beauty of style and thought, which has made its author the most widely inspiring personality in English educational circles of to-day.

SHIRREFF, E. A. E. THE KINDERGARTEN AT HOME.

London, 4, Adam Street. 1 vol.

A short simple work on the use of Froebel's methods in home life. Strongly recommended to teachers in families where there are young children, and to mothers.

SULLY, JAMES. STUDIES OF CHILDHOOD.

London, Longmans, Green & Co. 1895. 1 vol. 12/6.

This book shows, by examples of children's speeches and drawings, the child as linguist, artist, and draughtsman. The chapter on the child's fears, the description of the wise lawgiver, and the extracts from a father's diary are especially interesting.

